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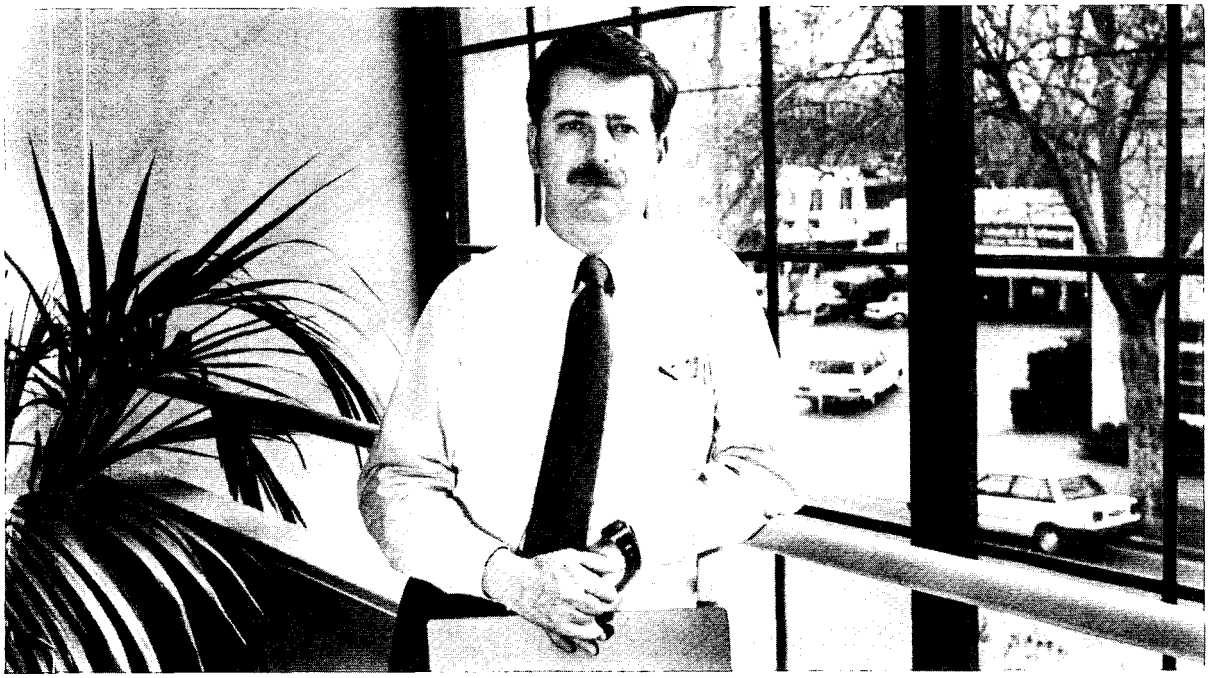

"Retirement is not just a gold watch and a handshake."

I'm a supervisor for the California Department of Parks and Recreation and have been for eight years.

I work hard for my state salary. Every day, supervisors and managers are told to do more with less; less money, fewer employees. But the workload doesn't get any lighter. It takes a very special person to achieve greater productivity with fewer resources.

Several people I know were excellent candidates for advancement to state supervisory or management positions. Many of these people compared the growing and complex workload with the still modest level of benefits they would receive. Far too many have decided it wasn't worth it and either accepted work in the private sector or with another level of government.

I'm a taxpayer and I care how my taxes are spent by the Legislature and the Governor. I want to see my tax dollars invested where it counts — improving incentives for increasing productivity.

I believe this can be done by attracting and keeping the best qualified people to do the job.

That's why it's important to me that state supervisors finally get an improved benefits package this year.

I'm not covered by collective bargaining like other state employees, so legislation improving benefits is my only chance. AB 4291 provides improved retirement benefits that are important to me.

I'm a dedicated, effective, career employee who has maintained high productivity. When I retire, I want reasonable retirement benefits that recognize my contributions and career status. After all, retirement is not just a gold watch and a handshake.

Ken Martin, a staff park and recreation specialist, began state service as a California Park Ranger. Currently, he is manager of the new California Sno-Park Program which provides snow-cleared parking access in winter recreation areas. Ken is married, and his wife, Cyndi, is an employee with the State Board of Equalization. Ken and Cyndi have a daughter and two sons, all in college at this time.

California State Supervisors is sponsoring legislation which will improve the salary and benefits of career state supervisors and managers. VOTE FOR: AB 4291, SB 1575, AB 3744 and AB 1231.

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CONTENTS

June ballot measures
A review of the 11 ballot measures on the ballot in the June primary, including an in-depth look at the only initiative — tort liability, the "deep pockets" initiative.

The future of education *by Michael Kirst* 184
A former member of the state Board of Education and noted educator from Stanford outlines the problems facing those dedicated to improving the state's education systems.

New kids in the classroom *by Sally Catlin* 189
Demographic studies show that minority children now pace the growth in public schools and that by 1999 Anglos will be in the minority.

Financing California schools *by David Savage* 192
Given the enormous scope of California's public school system, it takes billions of dollars just to maintain the status quo.

Senator Gary Hart *by Jennifer Kerr* 195

Assemblywoman Teresa Hughes *by Jennifer Kerr* 196
Profiles of the Legislature's Education Committee chairpersons and co-authors of the education-reform package passed two years ago.

Alternative education *by Aleta Watson* 197
As doubts about the value of public education mount, private schools throughout the state are thriving.

Teacher troubles *by Ann Bancroft* 207
What can be done to improve the morale and competence of the state's teachers.

View from the classroom *by Robert Mange* 211
California's 1986 "Teacher of the Year" explains that innovation and enthusiasm are the keys to success in class.

The in-between schools *by David Savage* 212
The state's community college system still struggles for identity and respect.

Dr. Joshua Smith *by Robert Schmidt* 215
A dynamic and articulate New Yorker takes over as head of the community colleges. Can he reform a fragmented system?

Big brother, little brother *by Michael Fallon* 217
The rivalry between the state's two university systems.

Up Front 182
Ballot front 205
Rostrum 221
Capitol Month 222
Roll Call 224
Campaign 86 225
Leo Rennert 226

Cover photo by Rich Pedroncelli

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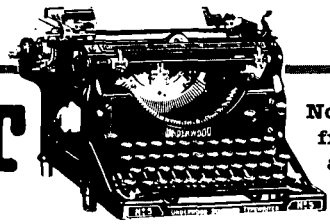
UP FRONT



Notes and Items from Contributors and the Journal Staff.

Assemblyman Sam Farr, a Democrat from Carmel, arrived late one afternoon to testify at a Ways and Means subcommittee hearing. But the committee chairman, fellow Democrat Robert Campbell of Richmond, chided Farr not for his tardiness but for his attire — green turtleneck, brown corduroy jacket, blue jeans and white sneakers. Replied the unabashed Farr: "I'm the only Democrat who dresses like one."

(Jim Richardson, Sacramento)

Cosmo-tician: any politician, classically handsome or otherwise, who turns up as *Cosmopolitan* magazine's Bachelor of the Month. In this case, it was the Assembly's own Rusty Areias. From now on, whenever Areias is asked, "What has politics done for you?" the Los Banos Democrat can say that it took him from Farmer of the Year to Hunk of the Month.

Potholes en route to the future. The state's Republicans are finding life a little different now that they're on their way to becoming a party of the majority. Earlier this year they started to get used to the idea of gay Republicans. And at their convention last month in Santa Clara, delegates gave a standing ovation to former Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver (who used to shoot at cops but is now a born-again Republican candidate for the U. S. Senate) and booed state Senator Ed Davis (who used to be a cop). The half-dozen Republican women state legislators announced that they had banded together to form a Republican Women's Political Action Committee with the express purpose of getting more Republican women elected to office. The Young Americans for Freedom had their "hospitality suite" shut down by hotel security after they became too rowdy, and a watered-down version of the usually routine anti-abortion resolution was defeated by pro-choice delegates. Republican state party chairman Clair Burgener may have discovered what Democrats knew all along, when, commenting on foment within the ranks, he noted that "politics is not a neat, tidy business."

Bobbi Fiedler is just making everybody mad. First she was so rude as to offer to help Ed Davis out of the race for U. S. Senate — an action Davis considered criminal. Then she used an old tape of President Reagan saying he wanted Bobbi back in Washington. Although there was a casual disclaimer to listeners that the tape was made when Bobbi was running for Congress, that wasn't enough to placate a couple of her Republican opponents. L. A. County Supervisor Mike Antonovich and erstwhile TV commentator Bruce Herschensohn both demanded that the tape be withdrawn. But both also said they would go ahead and use still campaign pictures of themselves with Reagan — that's different than using Reagan's voice on radio or television, they said. And Antonovich had a life-sized blowup of a picture of himself, Reagan and Deukmejian available at the party convention. Conventioneers were invited to have their own pictures taken with the cardboard group. That way they would be prepared, just in case they want to run for office sometime soon.

Now that the 11th Commandment seems to have gone by the wayside, Republicans have developed a 12th Commandment. It surfaced during an interview between Bobbi Fiedler and *Los Angeles Times* reporters John Balzar and Keith Love. The reporters asked Fiedler what she thought of a flat-tax idea proposed by one of her senatorial opponents — Bruce Herschensohn. Fiedler pooh-poohed the idea in formal candidatese then asked if she could go off the record. Once there, she slammed Herschensohn six ways from Sunday. Hence, the 12th Commandment: It's okay to slam another Republican, but just make sure you do it off the record.

How now, Ed Zschau. Among the Republican U. S. Senate wannabes, Sunnyvale Congressman Ed Zschau has the unique problem of teaching people how to pronounce his name. His campaign brochure features a section, "about the name," and most of his literature reminds people that it's "schow as in now." He's trying to help things along by personally penning a little campaign song — which he sings in public — that starts out: "Z-S-C-H-A-U. I can spell it, so can you." His second effort, unveiled to supporters last month at one of his Zschau Zschindigs, predicts "there'll be dancin' when he's beaten Alan Cranston." We've heard Ed sing. He should stick to politics.

There's something in a flood for just about everyone. The Legislature's Joint Rules Committee recently sent out a memo urging lawmakers and Capitol employees to contribute money to a fund-raising effort on behalf of flood victims around Sacramento. The memo justified participation not as a humanitarian gesture but as "a great opportunity for us to enhance the image of our State Capitol." As a kicker, it stressed that all contributions were tax deductible. Joint Rules didn't even initiate the fund-raising project. They merely joined one already set up by the State Capitol Staff Club.

Well, that's one way to can it. Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly is generally regarded as one of the more thoughtful members of the state Legislature. But the Sacramento Democrat may have gone too far to foist his habits on the rest of us. Connelly recently introduced AB4339 which requires that food processors who use, among other things, "dialectics" in their operations must inform the Department of Health Services. Dialetics, according to Webster, means "discussion and reasoning by dialogue as a method of intellectual investigation . . . "

(Jennifer Tachera, Sacramento)

The women at Capitol Network sure can throw a party. The all-female organization of legislators, staff and lobbyists held its costumed Mardi Gras at an ornate Sacramento River Delta mansion in February and managed to get a fair number of otherwise sober individuals to make fools of themselves. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, who came outfitted as — what else — Willie Brown, noted that the costumes reflected what the wearer secretly wanted to be. That in mind, we give you the following rundown: Senator Rose Ann Vuich, a "Fresno" Indian, complete with beads; Assemblyman William Leonard, a downhill racer; Assemblyman Chuck Calderon, in sombrero and serape; Senator Barry Keene, a clown; Assembywoman Marion LaFollette, a very sedate flapper — only a single ribbon headband; and Senator Robert Presley, who did the best impression of a senator we've ever seen, in charcoal grey suit and silver hair. Winners of

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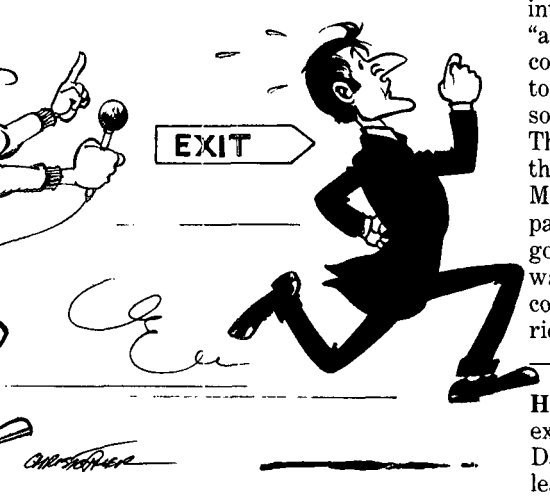
the costume competition included Assemblyman Jim Ellis with a Freddie the Freeloader-type clown outfit, and Assemblywoman Doris Allen, who Brown said was dressed like a Newport Beach hostess in basic black. The bad taste awards went to lobbyist Paula Treat, who was badly miscast as a nun, and lobbyist Suzane Davis, who came in prison stripes. The evening's festivities also revealed the true difference between members of the Assembly and members of the Senate. Senators can't dance.

Quick! Somebody get Spielberg! In a political version of "Amazing Stories," state Senator Gary Hart has returned a cool $47,000 in campaign contributions — even as he gears up for his 1986 reelection bid. No, the money didn't come from oil companies or toxic polluters. Last year the Santa Barbara Democrat briefly flirted with running for governor and raised about $150,000 to finance a campaign. But after deciding not to run, Hart wrote letters to contributors, offering money back to those who wanted it. At least four donors took him up on it, minus their share of expenses. The largest refund ($40,719) went to Herman Warsh and Maryanne Mott of Montecito, who donated $50,000. Not that Warsh and Mott have abandoned Hart. They recently hosted a $25-per-person fund raiser for his Senate campaign.

(Jerry Rankin, Santa Barbara)

Former Governor Jerry Brown has lost none of his foot speed now that he's just a private citizen. Following his speech to the Democratic state convention in Los Angeles in February, Brown was stopped by a reporter as he was leaving the stage and asked if he would hold a brief news conference. "I have nothing to say," Brown replied. The reporter pressed for Brown's views on the Rose Bird campaign, but Brown demurred. "No, no, no," he started to say when he spotted his father, former Governor Pat Brown, sitting in another part of the hall. "I want to say hello to my father," Brown said and dashed across the room. When reporters trailed him, Brown fled from the scene out a backstage exit.



(Richard Bergholz, Los Angeles)

The Garamendi for Controller campaign office was broken into in downtown Sacramento on March 11th. The place was ransacked and a $10,000 check stolen. Was it Watergate or Garamendi-gate? No one knows at this point, but the name of the investigating officer for the Sacramento Police Department is interesting — Ron Reagan.

(John Iander, Sacramento)

When in doubt, shoot the messenger. Boy wonder Ken Kizer managed to get himself confirmed by the Senate as director of the Department of Health Services despite last-minute news stories about his role in trying to remove a toxic-waste site from the federal superfund list. The site — coincidentally, we're sure — just happens to belong to some major contributors to Kizer's boss, Governor George Deukmejian. Kizer insists he didn't know about the contributions when he flew back to Washington to try to dissuade federal action which — coincidentally, we're sure — would have blocked a multimillion dollar construction project. At a Senate Rules Committee hearing on his confirmation, Kizer whined about the reporting job done by *San Jose Mercury News* reporters David Willman and Susan Yoachum, who exposed Kizer's intervention. Kizer, who called the stories "a discredit to the rest of the Capitol press corps," even employed a phalanx of aides to push reporters aside after the hearing so he wouldn't have to answer questions. The committee passed Kizer's name onto the full Senate without recommendation. Majority Democrats in the full Senate apparently felt Kizer was the best they were going to get from the governor. By the way, as members of the Capitol press corps, we thought the *Mercury News* stories were terrific.

He writes like he played. Jim Dantona, ex-aide to Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, recently issued a press release touting the formal kickoff of Democrat Gilbert Saldana's campaign to succeed Republican Bobbi Fiedler in the 21st Congressional District. Said Dantona: "Saldana will be joined by former 21st District Congressman Charlie Davis who is stepping down this term and will be officially endorsing Gil's candidacy." Actually, Davis never quite made it to Congress. He was the 1984 Democratic nominee who lost to Fiedler by 111,000 votes. Dantona's error is understandable. After all, he once played for the Chicago Cubs.

(John Firth, Simi Valley)

You know it's election-time when: Cavemen Republicans (say, Assemblyman Dennis Brown) send out sexually risque (some might say, disgusting) invitations to fund raisers; a statewide officeholder up for reelection (say, Ken Cory) plans an expensive, public-funded ad campaign to help locate owners of dormant bank accounts; a plethora of news releases from lawmakers begin with headlines like, "(Doris) Allen makes it easier for seniors to attend college" and "Areias to save consumers millions;" state Treasurer Jesse M. Unruh uses taxpayer money to send out a glitzy, two-page listing of all the boards and commissions chaired by Jesse M. Unruh; lawmakers (say, state Senator Joe Montoya) revamp the headings on press-release stationery to make them look more like the American flag (or, in Montoya's case, more like the label on a coffee can).

Mea culpa. The "Practical Guide to State and Federal Campaign Reform Laws" (*CJ*, February 1986) says that federal law prohibits federal government contractors from contributing to state and local candidates. Actually, federal contractors may contribute. We apologize for any ulcers that may have resulted from our error.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

We have entered an age in which education is not just a luxury permitting some men advantage over others. It has become a necessity without which a person is defenseless in this complex, industrialized society.

— Lyndon B. Johnson

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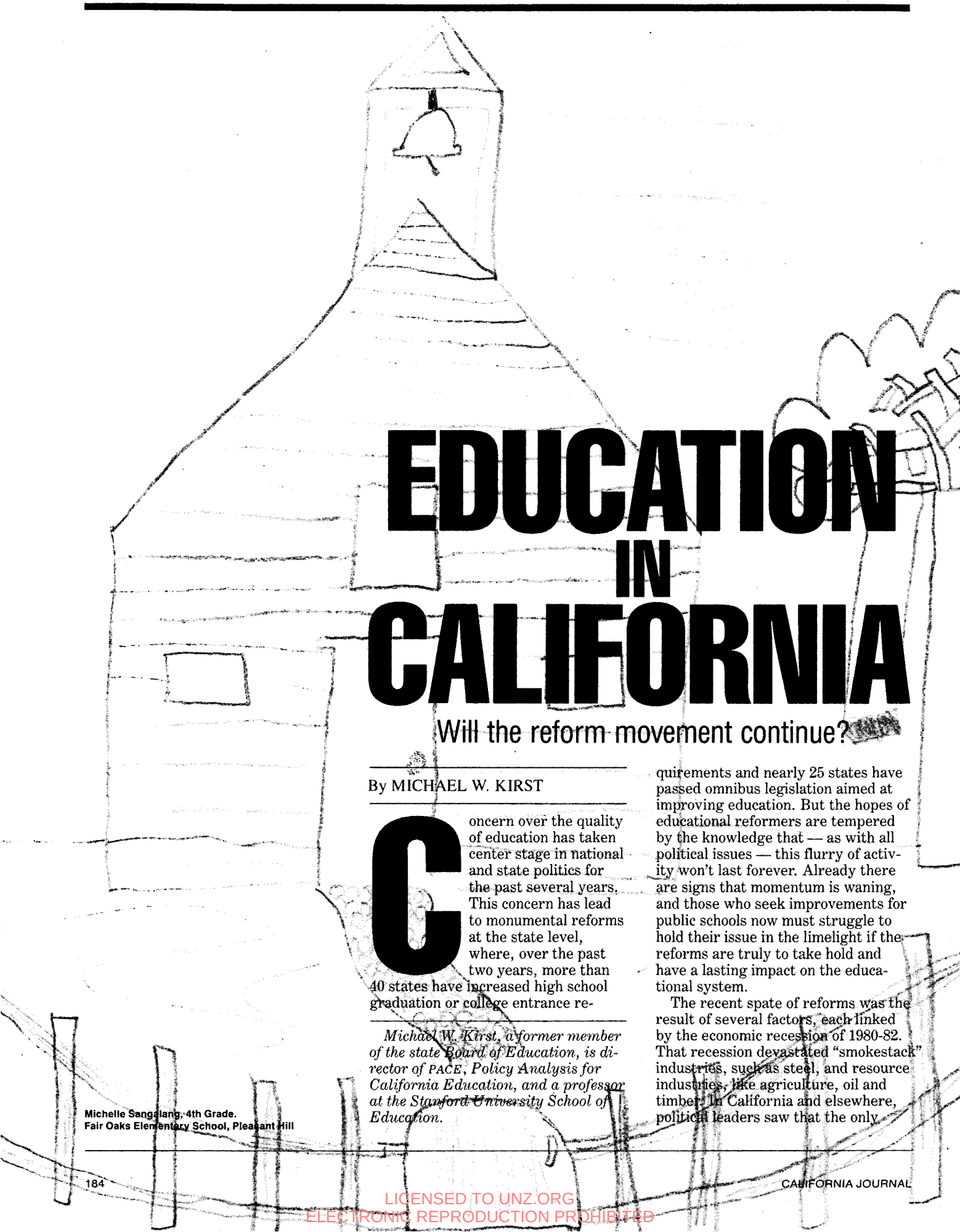

EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA

Will the reform movement continue?

By MICHAEL W. KIRST

Concern over the quality of education has taken center stage in national and state politics for the past several years. This concern has lead to monumental reforms at the state level, where, over the past two years, more than 40 states have increased high school graduation or college entrance requirements and nearly 25 states have passed omnibus legislation aimed at improving education. But the hopes of educational reformers are tempered by the knowledge that — as with all political issues — this flurry of activity won't last forever. Already there are signs that momentum is waning, and those who seek improvements for public schools now must struggle to hold their issue in the limelight if the reforms are truly to take hold and have a lasting impact on the educational system.

The recent spate of reforms was the result of several factors, each linked by the economic recession of 1980-82. That recession devastated "smokestack" industries, such as steel, and resource industries, like agriculture, oil and timber. In California and elsewhere, political leaders saw that the only

Michael W. Kirst, a former member of the state Board of Education, is director of PACE, Policy Analysis for California Education, and a professor at the Stanford University School of Education.

Michelle Sangalang, 4th Grade.
Fair Oaks Elementary School, Pleasant Hill

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promising sectors of the economy were those that utilized new, state-of-the-art technologies. And since these technologies rely heavily on a well-educated work force, state policy makers — with the urging of the business community — turned to education to produce the human capital needed by this new economy. Schooling became the linchpin to greater economic growth.

But the schools had been getting poor marks from the public for a long time. Nationally, the proportion of people rating the schools with an "A" or "B" declined 17 percent between 1974 and 1983, while the "D" or "F" ratings grew nine percentage points. In California steady declines in student academic performance, along with steady increases in high school dropout rates (currently an alarming 29 percent of high school students leave the system), led to an atmosphere of despair. A poll taken in 1978 showed that only 24 percent of Californians believed that increased spending would have any impact on the quality of education. State voters expressed their displeasure with the passage of a landmark tax-cutting initiative, Proposition 13, that had a dramatic effect on school budgets. In school year 1974-75 the state spent $3472 per pupil adjusted for inflation. But by 1985 — despite spending increases of roughly 16 percent between 1983 and 1985 — the state's expenditure was only $3353 per pupil.

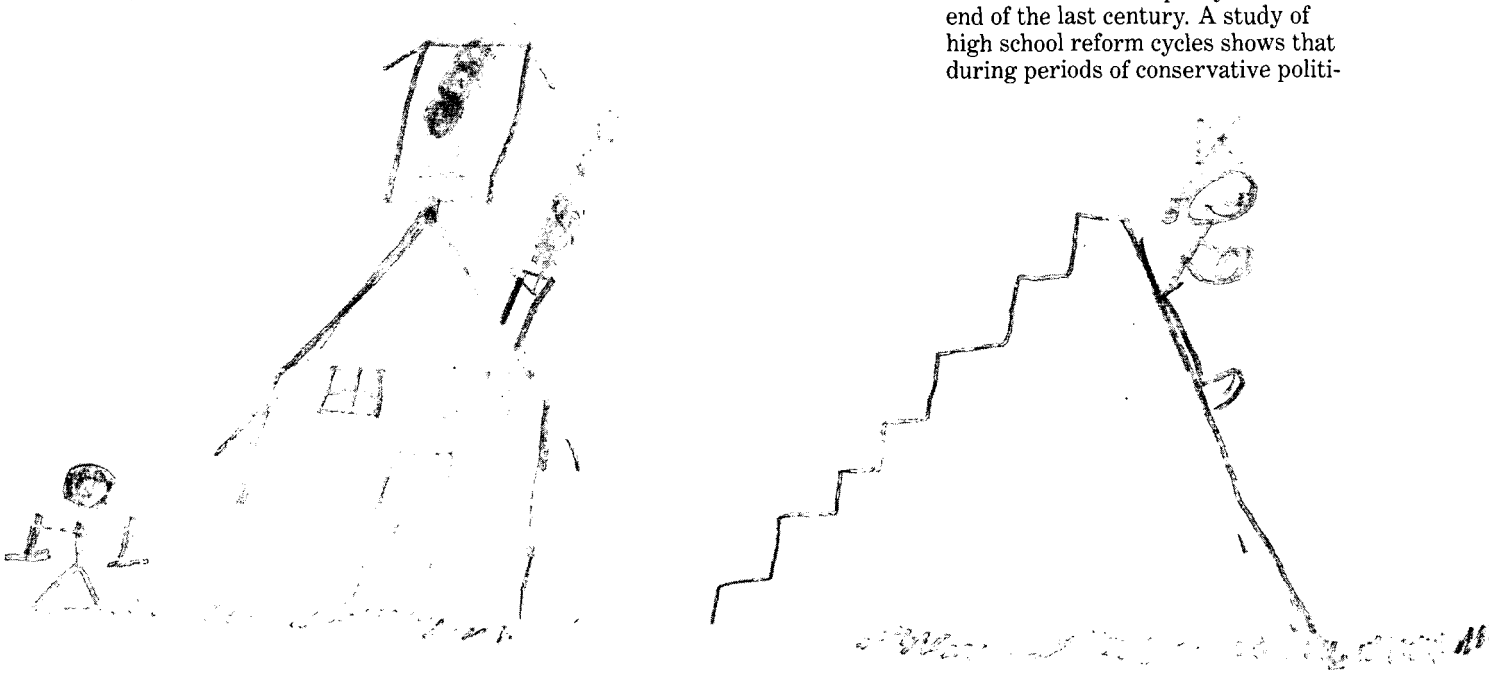
Although criticism of the schools continued, in 1983 a broad-based majority of Californians (64 percent) said that they would approve tax hikes for educational purposes. And they did. In the November 1982 elections voters passed five new bond issues. State policymakers heeded this cue. with approval from public and the allegiance of business groups like the California Business Roundtable, they passed the omnibus SB813 — the most comprehensive school reform package in state legislative history. The new bill granted $800 million in new state funds and over 80 substantive "reforms" for public education.

Since then the state has focused its attention on implementing the provisions of the statutes. A California Tax Foundation report suggests that most school districts are making significant efforts to implement major components of the bill, such as tougher graduation standards and longer school days and years. Other studies by Policy Analysis for California Education indicate that the state's high schools are offering, and students are taking, more courses in science, mathematics, advanced placement and comprehensive English.

The California reform bill, like reform packages that followed in many other states, were based on similar assumptions about how to improve the quality of education in the schools.

- Schools must give priority to the "basic" curriculum and stress the attainment of higher-order analytic and critical thinking skills.
- High school curricula are too fragmented and contain too many electives; they are unregulated smorgasbords that need a common core.
- One cure for poor quality is to raise expectations, and one way to raise expectations is to stiffen high school graduation standards and criteria for college admission.
- The teacher is key to effective schooling, but the structure of the teaching profession deters highly skilled individuals. Lessons from the private sector, such as pay based on merit, career ladders, and the use of more experienced personnel to guide others, can be successfully applied to the school setting to make teaching more attractive.
- Successful educational endeavors require cooperation among elementary schools, high schools, colleges and the business community.

These beliefs form the core of the current educational reform movement throughout the country. Noticeably absent are elements highlighted in earlier and equally prominent educational reform initiatives. In the late '60s and '70s, for example, many new programs were added to the basic curriculum to meet the special needs or interests of a diverse and often disadvantaged student population. These earlier reform movements, in their turn, neglected features of education that current efforts see as a key to high levels of achievement. This "either/or" aspect of reform has characterized American education policy since the end of the last century. A study of high school reform cycles shows that during periods of conservative politi-



Bronche Johnson, 3rd grade, Calvary Christian School, Sacramento

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cal movements such as occurred in 1890, 1975 and 1983, decision makers focused on excellence and academic standards. During periods and economic liberalism or progressive movements, such as the 1930s and 1960s, the focus was on expanding the functions of schools and on meeting the needs of the disadvantaged.

It is expensive to address both facets at once, and the two can be in conflict. For example, if graduation requirements are increased, what happens to disadvantaged youngsters who come to the schools ill-equipped to meet the higher standards?

Also absent from the current reform initiatives is any specific attention to the middle or junior high school. This area remains a relatively dark continent in terms of state educational policy, despite the fact that these schools deal with a crucial period in the life of a youth. Recognizing this neglect, California Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig plans to appoint a commission on junior high schools this year.

Higher education too was overlooked in the states' 1983-85 agendas but will likely see major efforts in the near future. California higher educational systems, however, have buffered themselves successfully from specific state interventions in curriculum or teacher quality, and except for the community college system, major changes here are unlikely.

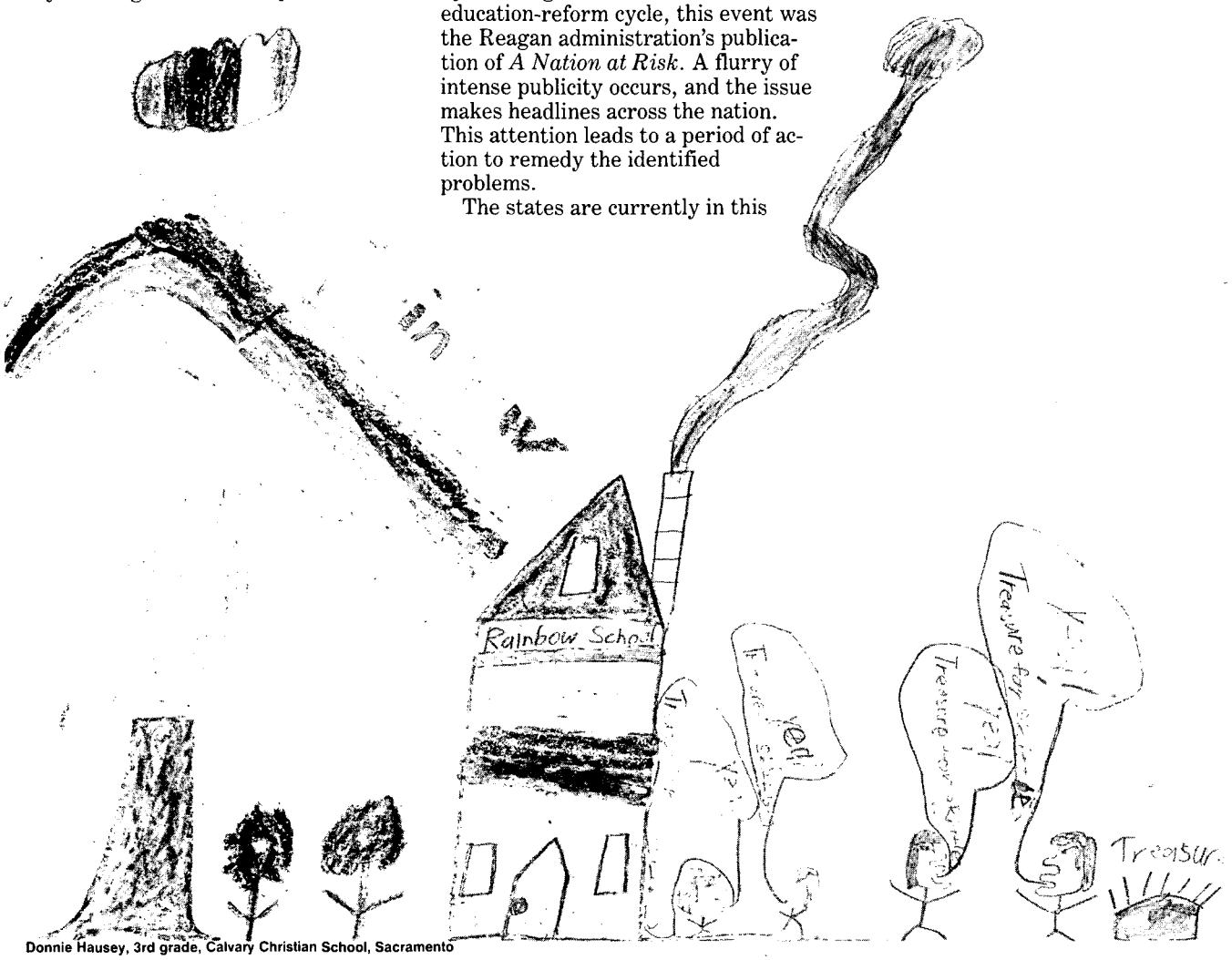
The central question facing policymakers in all the states is, "will the momentum for educational reform continue?" If not, what can policymakers do now to ensure that the implementation and effects of the reform continue as originally planned?

The attention cycle

Certainly it is unlikely that education will remain at the center of the policy arena. The life of any political issue follows a predictable cycle. For a long time the problem develops largely unnoticed by the public. This is followed by a period of alarmed discovery in the media, usually triggered by some signal event. In the current education-reform cycle, this event was the Reagan administration's publication of *A Nation at Risk*. A flurry of intense publicity occurs, and the issue makes headlines across the nation. This attention leads to a period of action to remedy the identified problems.

The states are currently in this phase of the issue-attention cycle with regards to education but appear to be approaching the next state — one of public disillusionment. In the final phase the public realizes how difficult and expensive addressing the problems will be, particularly when fundamental changes in well-established institutions like schools are needed. The media gradually loses interest. Eventually some other problem comes to the fore and begins its spin on the attention cycle.

By early 1986 many negative signs had appeared indicating that education in California may be the downside of the cycle. Recent private opinion polls indicate that the general public does not believe that schools are improving. The public remains deeply dissatisfied with school performances. Demographic shifts and fiscal pressures also mean that funds for education will be up against some stiff competition. The rapid growth of older voters in the state means a large block of voters who want lower taxes and more services for the elderly. The



Donnie Hausey, 3rd grade, Calvary Christian School, Sacramento

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number of California voters with children in public schools is about one in five, and the fastest growing school populations are recent immigrants who have low political-participation rates. Federal expenditures in education have declined as the priorities of defense, social security and Medicare take the lion's share of domestic spending.

Other trends may add to public disillusionment with educational reforms. The state will experience increasing enrollments until the early 1990s, and a large proportion of these new students will be disadvantaged and educationally at-risk. Expanding enrollments will sharpen the teacher shortage problem, particularly for teachers with special skills such as bilingualism. The state will need new facilities to accommodate the growing student population. The problems of education may come to seem beyond solution.

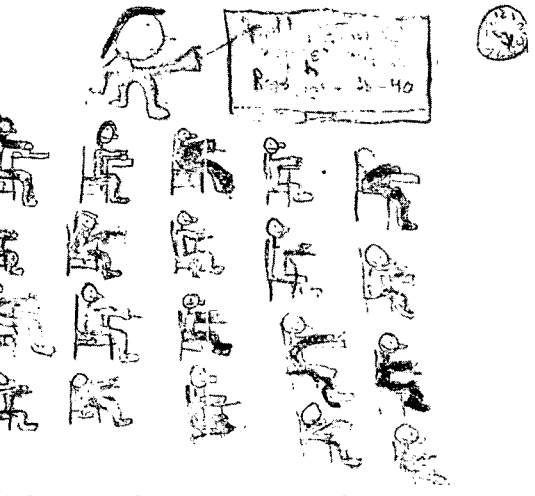
Yet the 1983 education reforms will be endangered if ongoing problems are not addressed. Key issues in addition to implementation will be to finance new or refurbish old classrooms to handle the more than 100,000 new students coming into the system each year. Reductions in class size and restoration of per-pupil expenditures to above the national average, improving the attainment of Hispanics, who comprise 33 percent of school enrollments and 30 percent of dropouts, and the attraction and retention of new teachers will also be critical.

One way of sustaining the momentum is by monitoring the effect of the reforms, to show the public money did not go for naught. Evaluations can maintain the mandate for addressing education's problems as well as providing an important tool for fine tuning reform for more effective performance. SB813 did not earmark any money for its evaluation, although Superintendent Honig does have some state Department of Education mechanisms in place. Analyses at this early stage focus on changes in quantity, like more instructional minutes per day and increased enrollments in academic courses. Missing still are the important measures of change in the quality of educational programs and academic achievement.

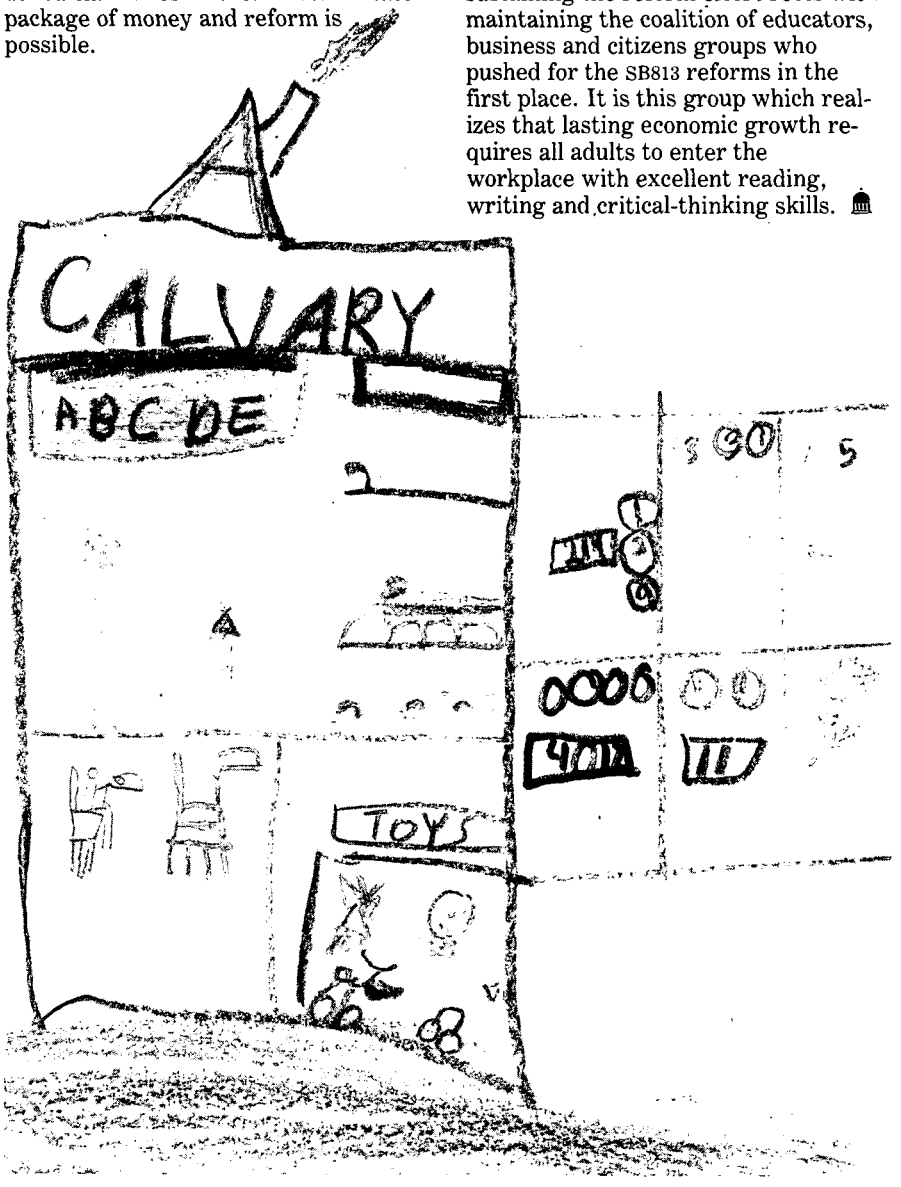
Another strategy for keeping the recent momentum of state education policy is to feature the recent state commission report on the teaching profession. If the public is convinced that a complete overhaul of our teaching force is needed — and this will also cost money for salaries and reduced class sizes — then another state package of money and reform is possible.

It took many years for the state's educational system to decline, and rebuilding it is also likely to take many years. While the period of intense activity can be prolonged, it cannot last indefinitely. Education eventually will fade from the spotlight, to be supplanted by the next "hot" topic. The crucial question for educators now is, Can they sustain the current interest long enough to make the reforms last while avoiding pitfalls that could leave some segments of the population behind?

Superintendent Honig has only token opposition — a sign that his reform efforts are still attractive — and Governor Deukmejian is running on his education record. Several legislative leaders have new education initiatives pending. But the best hope for sustaining the reform effort rests with maintaining the coalition of educators, business and citizens groups who pushed for the SB813 reforms in the first place. It is this group which realizes that lasting economic growth requires all adults to enter the workplace with excellent reading, writing and critical-thinking skills.



vid Pearson, 3rd Grade Calvary Christian School, Sacramento



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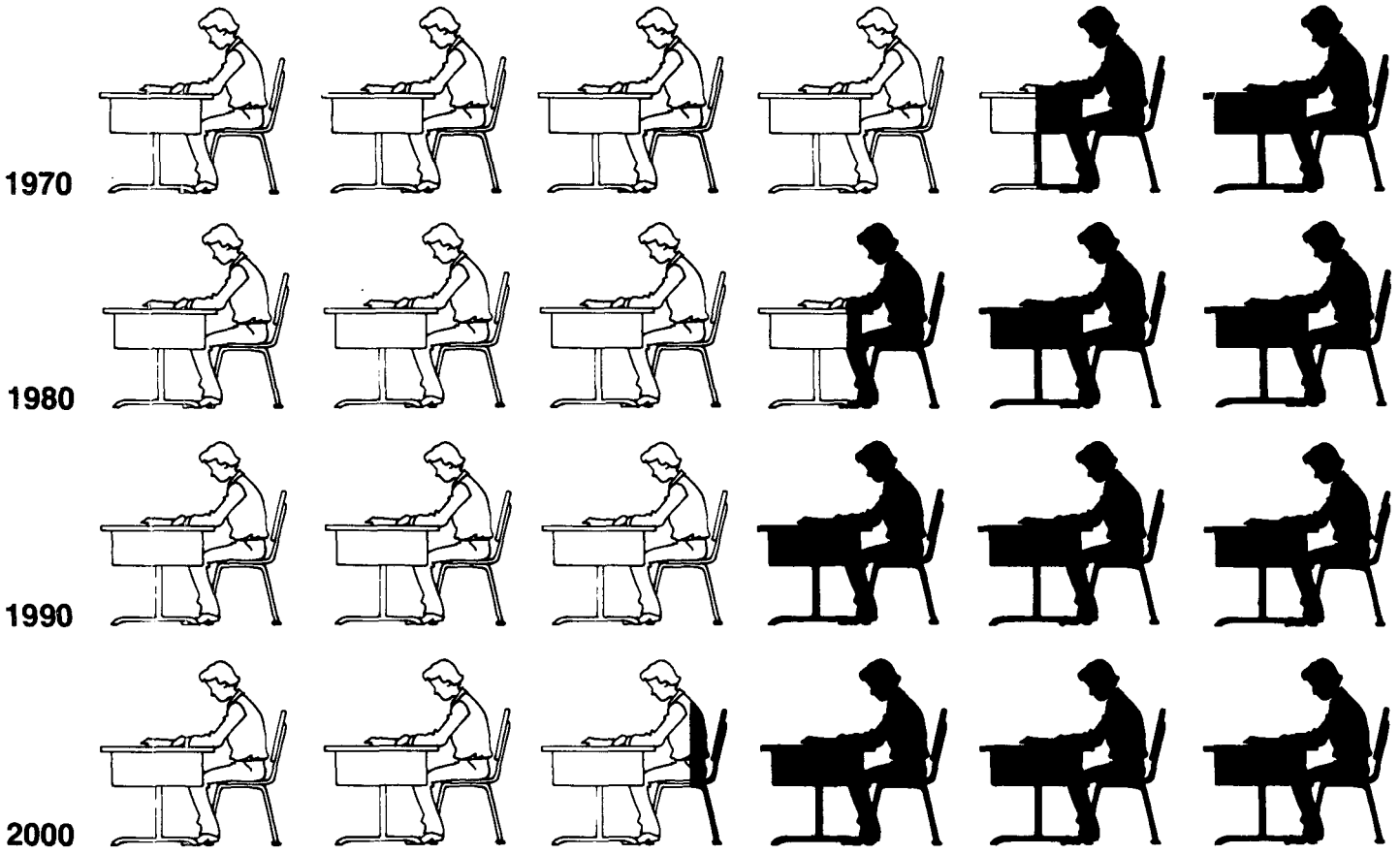
New kids in class

Minorities pace growth in public schools



Source: California State Department of Education

By SALLY CATLIN

By the year 2000 California's population will reach 31.8 million — twice what it was in 1960. But it will be a different kind of population than it was 26 years ago, for not only is it growing, it is also growing older and far less white. (The median age in 1980 was 30; by 1999 it should be 36.)

Yet although California's overall population is aging, its school-age population is growing. For instance, today's third graders are in the vanguard of a new "baby boom," the echo of the post-World War II boom. There are not as many as when their parents flooded the schools, but there are more than enough to reverse a trend that during the past few years has led to a decline in school enrollments.

Sally Catlin is a California Journal *intern from the University of California, Davis.*

The state's ethnic character is changing as well. While the overall population will grow by one-third between 1980 and 2000, the number of Anglos will increase by only 10.6 percent. By contrast, the black population will expand by 25 percent; the Hispanic and Asian populations by 50 percent. By 2010 California will join Hawaii as the only states where no single ethnic group constitutes a majority.

These population shifts will put new demands on a state school system already beset with overcrowded classrooms, overaged facilities and teacher shortages. New schools will be needed to handle the additional students, and different types of school environments will be needed because of the new, non-Anglo character of the school population.

The increase in school population will not happen all at once but will ripple through the system like a wave pounding the shoreline. For instance, enrollments in kindergarten through third grades have been expanding steadily for several years and will be 49 percent larger in this decade. On the other hand, grades four through eight have had declining numbers in recent years. Those grades are just beginning to experience an anticipated 21 percent growth over the next five years. High school enrollments will continue to decline into the next decade when the increases will be felt.

Most of this growth has occurred in inner-city schools and in new suburbs, and these areas have been hard-pressed to provide facilities fast enough. For example, in Elk Grove, a fast-growing area near Sacramento, home owners put up signs warning prospective home buyers there would not be any room in the neighborhood schools for their children, according to Susie Lange, state Department of Education information officer. And although both suburbs and inner-cities face expanding school populations, the characters of those populations are different: predominantly Anglo in suburbs; ethnic minority in the state's big cities.

Continued on next page

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California's ethnic population is also younger overall than the state's Anglo population. Bruce Kelly of California Tomorrow, a group studying trends in the state, says Californians believe the myth that its population growth represents migration from the eastern United States. But in fact, more Californians leave the state than arrive here from other parts of the country. Most of the growth comes from Latin America and Asia, and an estimated 25-40 percent of all immigrants to America settle in California.

According to a report prepared by Keith Pailthorp of the California Postsecondary Education Commission and Norman Gold of the state Department of Education ("Class of 1999"), minority students constituted 27 percent of the 1970 school population. By 1980 it had risen to 42 percent, and in 1990 it should reach an estimated 46 percent. By 2000, the report concluded, minorities in public schools will surpass Anglos with 52 percent of the school population. "The boom of the 80's is not like the earlier boom, and in order to deal with the increase, it is necessary to look at the types of students in the schools and try to meet their needs," said Gold.

Evidence of this shift can be found in the composition of different grades. The higher the grade level, the greater the percentage of whites. For instance, Department of Education studies for the 1984-1985 school year showed that the twelfth grade classes had 61.9 percent white students while the first grade white students comprised only 49.2 percent of their class.

Although minority populations are growing, Anglo teachers still hold 81 percent of all full-time teaching positions and 88.1 percent of the part-time positions. Ninety-two percent of the superintendents are Anglo, as are 81.5 percent of the school principals. In addition, women hold an estimated 64.9 percent of the teaching positions while they hold only 33.2 percent of the administrative positions. These school officials have to cope with an increasing number of students who do not speak English as a native language.

The Policy Analysis For California Education Report, "Conditions of Education in California 1985," estimated that 23 percent of the five-to-17-year olds in California public schools speak a language at home other than English. Students considered to have Limited English Proficiency (LEP) compose 11.9 percent of all elementary and secondary school students, with 41 different languages represented.

The "Class of 1999" Report showed that in 1984 LEP students numbered 487,835, with 30 percent of these in grades seven to 12 and 70 percent in kindergarten through sixth grade. The great majority of these, 72.9 percent, spoke Spanish. Asian languages constituted about 20 percent. Nearly 74 percent of the LEP students are concentrated into six districts: Los Angeles, Orange, San Diego, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Alameda.

Drop-outs

In addition to language difficulties, these students tend to be poor, which creates an additional group of problems including an increased school drop-out rate that is difficult to gauge.

"Nobody knows the the drop-out rate because we have no drop-out data. We only have attrition data," said Kati Haycock from the Achievement Council, an organization promoting programs for low-income and minority students. She said school districts measure how many students there are in ninth grade and how many graduate in 12th grade. The drop-out for Anglos is estimated at about 25 percent, while for minorities such as blacks and Hispanics, it is more than 43 percent. Asians, however, have a lower than average rate, with only 15 percent leaving school, according to the Department of Education.

The failure to respond to changing demographic patterns in the schools has indirectly fueled the drop-out rate. When youngsters cannot succeed, they get frustrated, and see no point in remaining in school. "What if they drop out, they were not getting much of an education," said Kelly.

Burton believes many minority students fear they are doomed to dead-end jobs, and to some, dropping out seems better. It's not that minorities do not care about education, he added, but they feel it cannot be achieved.

Reform efforts

Those who study school demographics believe that most education planners are failing to take the changing nature of California's population into account. Although there has been substantial pressure to "reform" the education process, most of these changes have been aimed at white, middle-class youngsters.

Ideally, reforms are supposed to benefit all students, said Rueben Burton. But reform tends to be elitist. For example, he said that although higher standards are important, they also need to be designed so that the students in the schools can meet them. Burton said the increase of math and English

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will be helpful to all students. But a lot of work has to be done to ensure that students can meet these standards, or else the schools will lose these students.

California Tomorrow's Kelly noted that State Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig's reforms concentrate on standards, but do not take into account who would be in the schools.

"Education has stayed relatively the same as the population has diversified. Before . . ., a janitor's kids could get a good education and move up through education," Kelly said. "But can these same children move up in today's education system?"

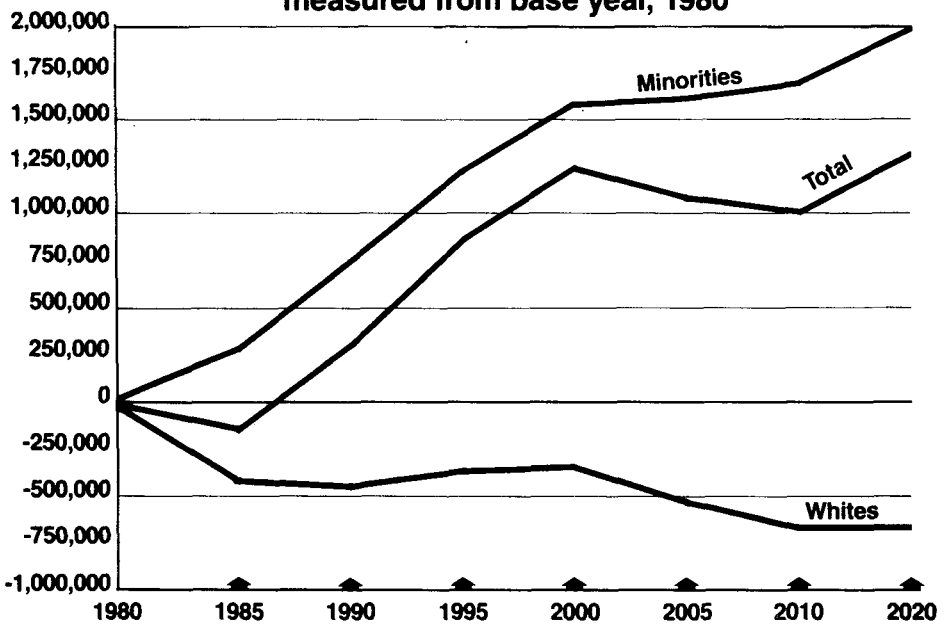
Henry M. Levin, an economics professor at Stanford University School of Education, feels schools are not well-equipped to deal with these high-risk students. "Most reform is academic. Students need to be brought up to grade level. Remedial classes are mechanistic. We are providing services, but we are not closing the gap. If you have a kid reading at the fifth grade level in ninth grade, do the new requirements help and benefit? They need help and instruction. Those who progress at the normal rate are benefiting, but reforms do not have the disadvantaged in mind."

Aside from the effects on individuals, society will pay a high price for failing to educate these youngsters, some education experts believe. "Unloading people into the streets will not be cheap," said Dr. Levin.

"We need to invest in young people," added Gold. "These children are part of our future tomorrow. We will be counting on them to contribute to Social Security and to keeping the economy thriving. No one wants uneducated people."

California's future depends on an educated population, said Haycock. All Californians need to be able to read and write at a sufficient level, and it is the responsibility of the California public schools to ensure that our population, no matter what their needs, are being educated, she said.

Change in student population measured from base year, 1980



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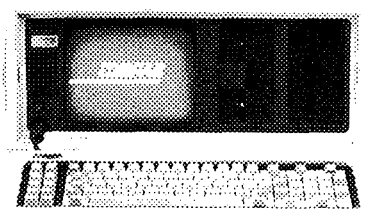

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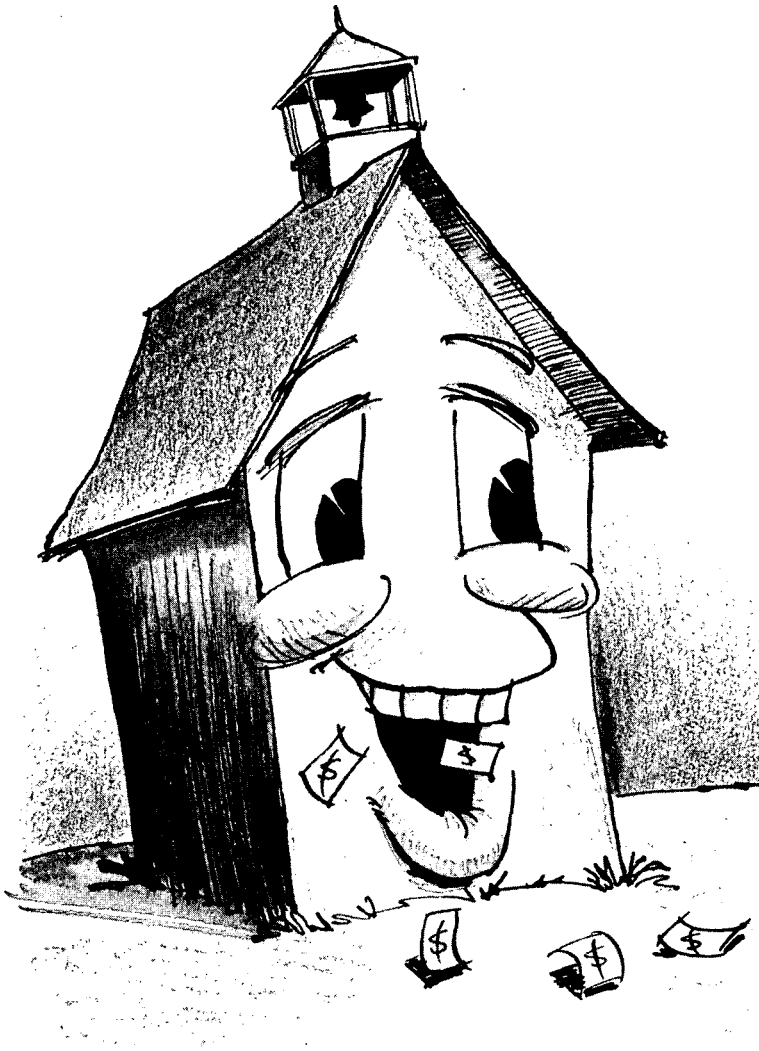

Financing Cal

Can they be better whe

By D

To get a sense of the difficulty in paying for California's public schools, consider the following numbers: In the 1982-83 school year the state spent an average of $2773 for each child in the schools, $187 less than the national average.

Upset by the thought of California trailing the nation in education, the governor and the Legislature pumped an additional $4.2 billion into the budget for public schools over the next three years. As a result, this year California will spend only $87 per pupil less than the national average. That $4.2 billion would exceed the total budget of most other states and dwarf the amount of money they spent for schooling. For example, Governor Richard Lamm of Colorado recently said his state, as well as the nation, is "engaged in an economic war of attrition that will not be won with bombers but with blackboards." He then proposed that Colorado spend a total of $877 million for public education next year.

Perhaps the point is obvious — California is a big state, and public education is a big part of the overall state budget. This year, education accounts for 53 percent of state expenditures. But what that size means is that it takes enormous effort to make small progress. If you are concerned about the schools getting better and see some relationship between spending and improvement, it is fair to ask: How much longer will California's governor and Legislature be willing to spend more for education? That is, how much longer will the state add more each year than the inflation rate and more than enough to pay for newly enrolled students?

The latter point should not be underestimated. The Department of Finance says the public schools enrolled 4.17 million children in 1985 and it projects an enrollment of 5.16 million students in 1995, an increase of nearly 24 percent. The surge is due both to the "baby boom echo" — the children of the baby boom generation — and immigration from Mexico, Central America and Asia.

Since the state spends more than $3000 for each enrolled child, and enrollments will rise by about 100,000 a year for a decade, the governor and the Legislature will have to come up with an additional $300 million each year just to stay even. That of course does not include inflation, which has accounted for an extra $500-600 million per year recently even with a relatively low inflation rate.

Optimism

Still, despite those daunting figures, most school finance experts say they are moderately optimistic that California can — and will — find the money to continue improving the schools.

"I'm cautiously optimistic that we can make slow progress," said Stanford University education professor Michael Kirst. "I'm not talking about big gains. But I think the trend (over the next five years) will be above inflation and the enrollment gain."

Kirst, a former president of the State Board of Education, said he based his prediction on the well publicized evidence that California's schools were in trouble.

"I think there's a deep consciousness among California

David Savage is an education writer for the Los Angeles Times.

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ornia schools

ons buy the status quo?

AVAGE

business leaders and the political leadership that the education system was underfunded after Proposition 13," he said. "Those national rankings (such as California being last in 1982 on the percentage of its income spent on education) had an impact. I don't think the concern about the elementary and secondary schools has gone away yet. It took a long time to erode the system, and I think people realize it will take a long time to put it back together."

Allan Odden, a school finance expert at the University of Southern California, is also forecasting "marginal improvements" over the next five years.

"There's going to be a lot of tough competition for those revenues — the elderly, social services, prisons, health care," he said. But if inflation stays under 5 percent, Odden said, the state should have enough money to keep ahead of the enrollment increases.

Neither forecast includes disillusionment with education and its high cost. In the early 1970s, when the initial studies showed that Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" education programs weren't having much impact, the Nixon White House and later the Congress lost interest in adding to those budgets. In a more current example, the reports of cost overruns, wildly expensive spare parts and corporate shenanigans, have taken the steam out of President Reagan's big defense build-up.

"I don't think we have any $6000 coffee pots to hide," said Kirst. "Plus, I think many of the symbolic indicators (for education) will be positive," including higher test scores and evidence that students are taking better courses in the high schools.

But, as with Reagan's military build-up, you can ask: What did the money buy? In the case of California education, most of the new money pays for salary raises for teachers. In the past three years, average salary hikes for teachers have doubled the rate of inflation, according to the California Teachers Association. The Los Angeles Unified School District reports that its teachers' salaries have gone up 31.5 percent over three years. The starting salary has jumped from an anemic $13,700 per year to a more respectable $20,200.

But teachers are also doing more for this money. The school year has been extended in most areas, from about 176 days to 180. The school days have also been lengthened by 20 to 30 minutes. Under the school reform act of 1983, school districts were given more money to bring their school days and school years in line with national averages, and most passed on the extra money to the teachers. The extra state aid also has gone for a variety of other purposes — expanded school programs, new textbooks and library books and bonus pay for outstanding teachers, to name a few.

Classroom size

But one area where improvement has not taken place is in the size of classes. California's schools have classes that are as large as any in the nation. By some measures, California ranks last among states in class sizes. But doing something about this is not easy. The Senate Education Committee calculated a year ago that it would cost $163 million to reduce all classes by one student.

The state teachers' association says its number one issue is reducing the size of classes. However, its local chapters also insist that every spare penny coming from Sacramento

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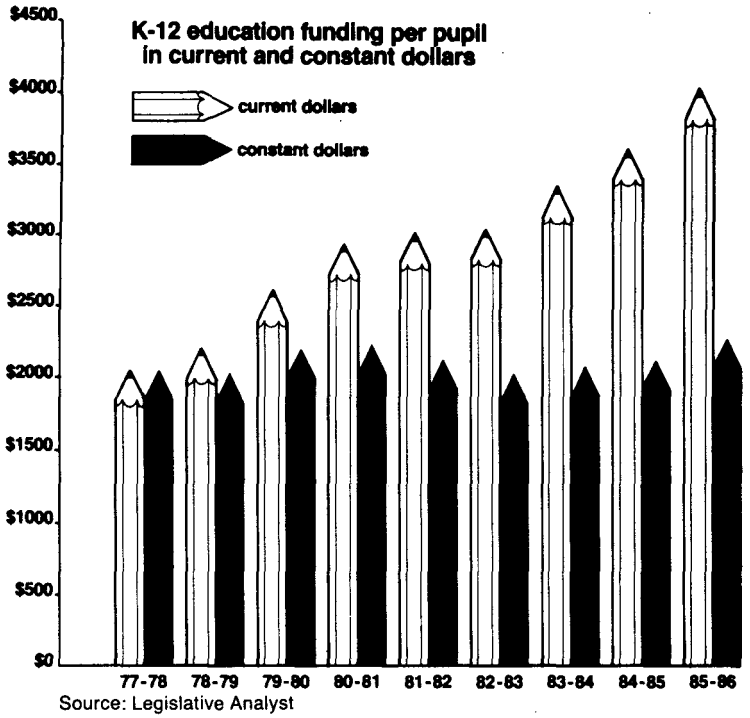

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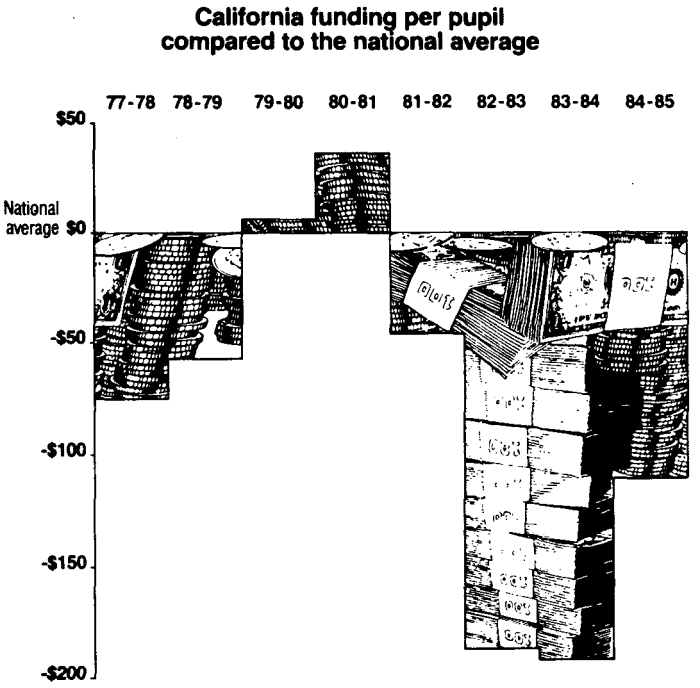

Source: California State Department of Education

go for raising teachers' salaries, not lowering the size of their classes.

Recognizing this reality, state Senator Gary Hart, a Santa Barbara Democrat and chairman of the Senate Education Committee (see profile, page 195), has been trying to reduce classes in a few selected spots. Twice before, he has gotten through the Legislature bills that would have paid to reduce high school classes to 20 students in areas such as writing or mathematics, at a cost of $60 million per year. Both times Governor George Deukmejian vetoed the bills.

This year Hart is trying again with a school-reform bill that tries to reduce classes and improve the lot of teachers. Its fate, in the Legislature and with the governor, is probably a good test of whether the school improvement campaign has much political steam left. But the real wild card in the school-financing picture is the lottery. The education system gets at least 34 cents of every $1 spent on the lottery, and Californians are spending many more dollars than anyone had anticipated. The Department of Finance had originally estimated the lottery might provide public schools with an extra $60 per child in its first year. However, the payment sent out in February for just the first quarter of the year was slightly over $50 per child. Remember, too, that in the latest estimates, the state is spending $87 per child less than the national average. If the lottery continues at its current pace, it will quickly push California back above the national median in education spending.

But education leaders have been playing down the lottery's significance for two reasons. The lottery money sounds like a lot more than it is, at least to the general public. In the years ahead it could provide a good excuse for the governor and the Legislature to divert money to other purposes. "It will help close the gap (between California and other industrial states), but it doesn't do the whole job," says state Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig. The $219 million that was paid out in February is a hefty sum, but it also pales when compared to the state's total bill of $17.3 billion for public schools.

"In the short-run, the dollars were welcome," said Hart. "But in the long run, there's potential for real trouble." When a bill comes before a legislative committee to expand summer schools or buy classroom computers or improve the counseling programs for secondary students, he said, the temptation for legislators will be to ask: Why don't local school officials pay for this themselves out of the lottery proceeds?

If the question is asked often enough over the next five years, he said, California's schools may find that the lottery was a windfall they could have done without.

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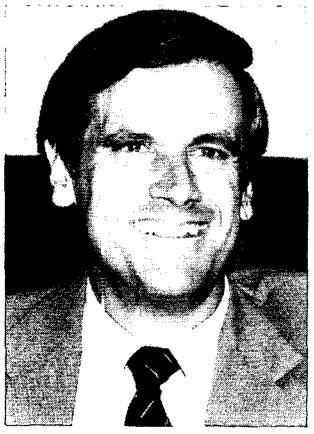
Senator Gary Hart

A passion for politics and education

By JENNIFER KERR



Gary Hart, a former high school social studies teacher, got caught up in teaching and politics during the anti-war and civil rights furor of the 1960s. Now he combines both his loves as the chairman of the Senate Education Committee. A Santa Barbara Democrat, Hart almost ran for governor this year, forming an exploratory committee a year ago because "it didn't seem like anyone else was coming forward." But he dropped out because "the timing is not right for me — it will obviously be an uphill battle for any Democrat."

Hart, 42, has taught at the junior and senior high school, community college and university levels and still likes to return periodically to the classroom. Last December, for instance, he spent a week in a Los Angeles high school where most of the students came from Nicaragua or Korea.

"The legislators who are most dogmatic, most vocal on a cure for education tend to be those who have not been in the schools for 10 to 20 years," he says to explain why he still devotes time to teaching.

Hart has authored three of the most important public school laws of the last decade: SB813, the comprehensive reform- finance law of 1983, as well as the laws requiring high school students to pass proficiency tests to graduate and new teachers to pass tests of basic skills to be hired.

Born in San Diego, he attended public schools in Santa Monica, Whittier and Santa Barbara. At Santa Barbara High School he was student body president and a star football player. He went to Stanford University on a football scholarship. (Hart, still athletic, is regarded as one of the Legislature's best baseball players and has twice attended a "fantasy baseball camp" run by the Los Angeles Dodgers.) It was at Harvard University, where he received a master's in education, that he was introduced to teaching and to politics.

As a graduate teaching assistant, "I found I really enjoyed teaching, once I got in there. I felt right at home."

At Harvard, he became involved in the anti-Vietnam War and civil rights movements and demonstrations. During the summer of 1966 he taught on a Ford Foundation grant at all-black Tougaloo College in Mississippi and on the way participated for several days in James Meredith's "March Against Fear." That fall, he began teaching social studies at Santa Barbara High School.

At Harvard he also met Allard Lowenstein, the charismatic New York politician who is credited with persuading Eugene McCarthy to challenge incumbent President Lyndon Johnson in 1968. (Lowenstein, who worked in Jerry Brown's 1976 presidential bid, was later assassinated.) Lowenstein persuaded Hart to join the McCarthy campaign as "a glorified go-fer" in New York. Hart also worked on Lowenstein's own campaign for the U.S. Congress from New York. To keep his hand in education during the campaigns, Hart worked as a substitute teacher in the New York City schools.

A troublemaker

In November 1968 he returned to California and applied to teach in the Los Angeles school district. But he was turned down because his former principal at Santa Barbara "wrote a damning recommendation, said I was a troublemaker, stirring up problems."

He taught English and coached basketball at a private school in Santa Barbara, but he had caught the political bug. He ran for the 13th Congressional District in 1970 "as an anti-war candidate" against an entrenched incumbent (Charles Teague of Ojai) and lost. After the race he substitute-taught in Santa Barbara, taught part-time at Santa Barbara City College, then administered a federal grant for the University of California extension in Santa Barbara. He ran for the Assembly in 1972 but lost the general election by less than one percent to the Republican incumbent, W. Don MacGillivray of Santa Barbara. Two years later, after MacGillivray left to run for the state Senate, Hart won the Assembly seat. Hart himself moved up to the Senate in 1982 after a bruising, expensive election against another incumbent assemblyman — Republican Charles Imbrecht. His 18th Senate District covers the coastal areas of Santa Barbara, Ventura and Los Angeles counties.

His favorite students are high school freshmen and sophomores. "They can be treated like adults. It's the most formative time of adolescent intellectual development. What you do in that setting is enormously important to the students. Social studies presents the real world, the adult world to kids. To see a young person begin to grasp the world in which they live or get turned on to learning is a real treat to me."

This year he's trying for the third time to push through a bill to begin reducing class sizes, since California's are the largest in the country. Governor George Deukmejian has vetoed his last two attempts. "I think the governor's feeling the pressure. It's really an embarrassment to him in this election year to say education is his number one priority" and to oppose reducing class size, says Hart.

As for his future, "I'd love to be governor. There are other possibilities," such as U.S. Senator Pete Wilson's seat in 1988 or the House of Representatives or "staying put in the Senate and expanding my influence here."

His wife, Cary, is a pediatrician. They have three daughters: Elissa is in fourth grade and Katherine first grade in the San Juan school district in Sacramento and Laura, 4, is in preschool.

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Assemblywoman Teresa Hughes

Keeping education off the Yellow Brick Road

By JENNIFER KERR

Teresa Hughes took some education courses when she was pregnant so she could get a job while her children were growing. When she went into her first classroom as a substitute teacher in New York City, "I discovered I just loved it."

That baby is now 27 years old and a law school graduate; Hughes has moved through education into politics, but she has always kept schools, particularly teachers, as her number one interest.

The Los Angeles Democrat has chaired the Assembly Education Committee since 1983, has been a member of that committee since she was elected to the Assembly in 1975 and was principal coauthor of SB813, the 1983 education finance-reform bill, although her power and influence among legislative leaders has been limited.

Hughes, 53, was born in New York City. She received her bachelor's degree in physiology and public health from Hunter College and worked as a social worker. When her son was five months old she became a substitute teacher and loved it so much she went on to get her teacher's certificate and to teach elementary school. She then got her master's degree in education administration at New York University and became an assistant to the New York superintendent of schools.

In 1966 she moved to California to get her Ph.D. in education administration at Claremont Graduate School. She was an assistant professor of education at California State University at Los Angeles from 1969 to 1972.

Then politics began to enter her life. She worked for six months for then-state Senator Mervyn Dymally and became the legislative advocate for the Teacher Preparation and Licensing Commission (now the Commission on Teachers Credentialing).

"When I was lobbying the Legislature, I said, 'Gee, these people don't have the broad experience and background I have in education.' When a seat became vacant, I ran. I had never run for anything before. I discovered that Californians, like people in New York, were interested in education. "

Outside the power structure

The seat she won in a 1975 special election was the 47th Assembly District, which includes south-central Los Angeles plus the cities of Bell, Cudahy and Huntington Park. It became vacant when Dymally was elected lieutenant governor and Democrat Bill Greene moved from the Assembly to Dymally's Senate seat. At the time, Hughes was the 16th woman to ever be elected to the Legislature and only the second black woman.

Although she has chaired the Education Committee during perhaps its most visible years and before that chaired another committee, Hughes has always remained outside the inner circles of power in the lower house. During the months of negotiations on SB813, she was clearly not as involved in decisions as state Senator Gary Hart, the bill's author and the Senate Education Committee chairman.

Hughes is often criticized for a run-on debating style that combines educationalese jargon with florid rhetoric. During an early floor debate on SB813, when negotiations were not going well, she astounded listeners with a long, disjointed metaphor about the state wandering, like Dorothy, down the "Yellow Brick Road" but with crumbling schools instead of the Emerald City at the end.

Many of the bills she has carried in the last decade have been education-related, including ones to give permanent status to substitute teachers in the Los Angeles school district and requiring affirmative-action reporting for universities. Besides SB813, she said she is most proud of a bill she carried last year that established a performing arts high school in Los Angeles County. The school, on the campus of California State University, opened last September.

"That was really thrilling. I got the concept because I lived down the hill from the Music and Arts High School in New York (the 'Fame' school). I was just amazed when I arrived in Los Angeles, the city of the movie industry, that kids had to wait for college to get any formalized training (in music and drama)."

During her years of involvement with education, she says the primary change has been that "perhaps people have less and less respect for teachers as professionals and that's sad . . . Teachers are grossly underpaid, plus they don't have the prestige in society they did many years ago. I think it's beginning to improve, but it does have a long way to go. The average plumber makes more money than the average teacher — that's awful."

Hughes would like "to see the state go on an advertising campaign for teachers, but we have to make sure the teaching profession becomes more attractive."

She said the attention paid to teacher Christa McAullife, who died along with six other astronauts in the January 28th explosion of the Space Shuttle *Challenger*, made people think about teachers in a positive way.

"She was going to space to present lessons. That was magnificent. If nothing more, people will admire the bravery, great sensitivity and inquisitive mind of teachers. I'm very proud of her. Maybe out of the tragedy can come an appreciation of dedicated teachers."

Her two children, Vincent, 27, and Deirdre, 25, are both graduates of Los Angeles public schools and law school. When she married Oakland physician Frank Staggers, she acquired three more children, Barbara Staggers, a pediatrician, Frank Staggers Jr., a doctor, and Michael Staggers, who is studying for the ministry.

Jennifer Kerr is a reporter for the Associated Press.

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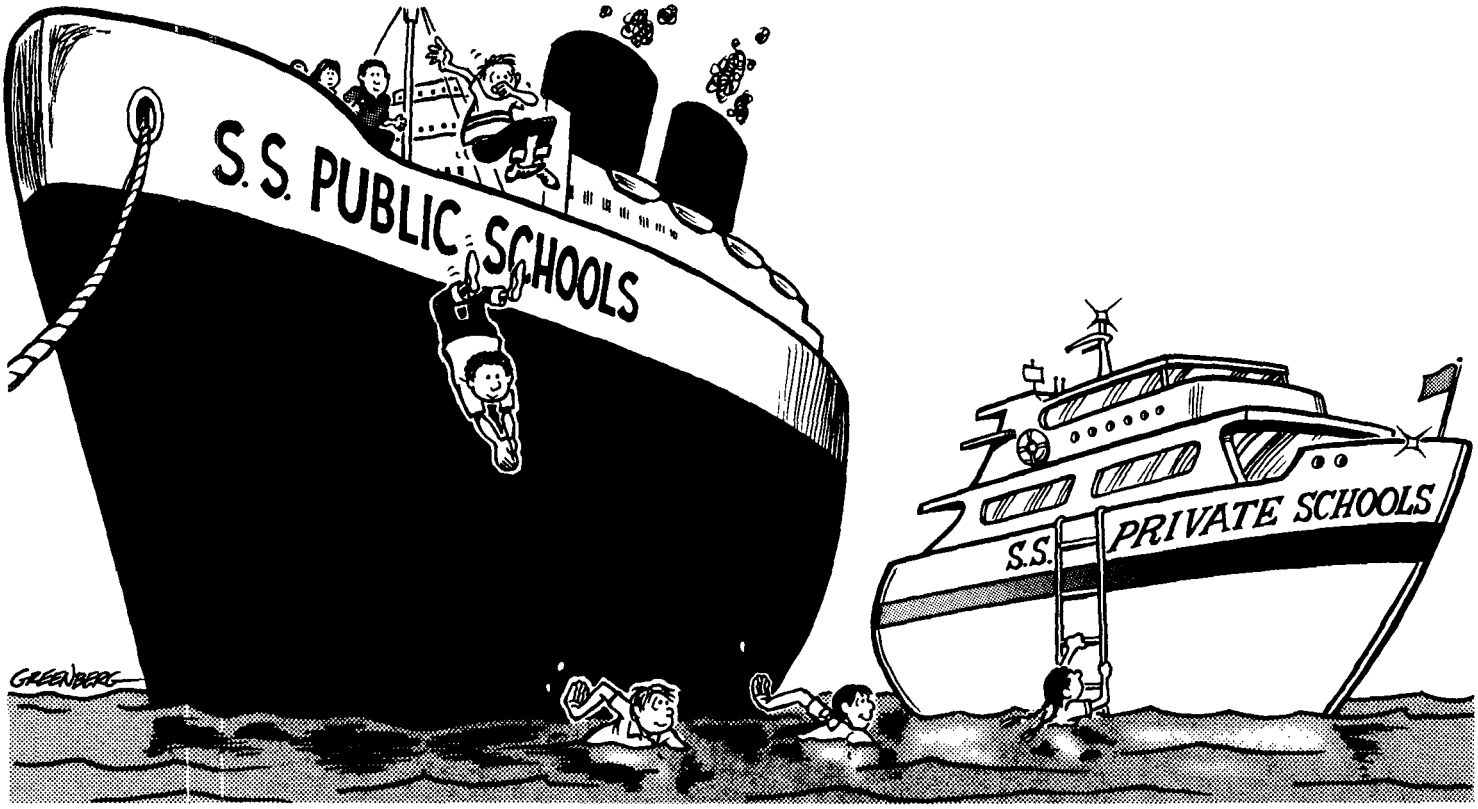

Alternative education

Private schools thrive amid doubts about public education

By ALETA WATSON

Recession or recovery, the economic climate means little to California's private schools. They seem to prosper under any circumstance. Their share of the school-age population dropped a bit as the offspring of the "baby boom" generation began swelling public-school enrollments in the fall of 1984 when the most recent statistics were collected. But private schools still claimed a record 540,127 students — 11.5 percent of the total enrollment in California schools.

The numbers don't surprise Donald Erickson, a professor of education at the University of California at Los Angeles and head of the Institute for the Study of Private Schools. "I really do not see any sign of diminishment of interest in private schools," says Erickson. "My private prediction is the current reform movement in public schools, which exists mostly in the show window, is going to produce a great deal of disillusionment in the next year or so, when state legislators say, 'Look, we've poured all that money into schools to make them work and it hasn't.' "

Private schools thrive, Erickson maintains, because they offer choices to parents. Fundamentalist Protestants find prayer and the Biblical version of creation in Christian classrooms; Catholics find the catechism in their parochial schools; and ambitious parents find high academic standards in the elitist independent schools.

Some observers tie the rising popularity of private schools to the same decline in public education that the National Commission on Educational Excellence lamented in 1983, proclaiming, " . . . The educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and as a people."

Erickson is more cautious. "The public doesn't realize this, but there's a tremendous variety of motivations on the part of parents," he says. ". . . The notion that it's a reaction against public education is overstated, although it is there."

One impetus for families to switch to private schools may

Aleta Watson is an education writer for the San Jose Mercury News.

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be the growing numbers of minority students in California's public schools. By 1990 minority students are expected to become the majority in the state's schools.

When Ramon Cortines was superintendent of Pasadena Unified School District during the 1970s, he saw a large proportion of the city's white students flee to private schools and other school districts after a federal judge ordered the district to desegregate. Now the superintendent of San Jose Unified School District, he raised "white flight" as a central issue in San Jose's desegregation trial last December, successfully arguing for a voluntary plan to reduce the danger of Anglo families leaving the district. "There are two major areas where private schools draw students from public schools," he says. "One is smaller class sizes, although that is not true in all cases, particularly parochial schools. Number two, there is greater homogeneity."

Cortines sees private schools as his chief competitors.

"I think public schools that are not watching prestigious private and public schools have their heads in the sand," he says. "They're the competition."

In California private-school enrollments have grown dramatically since 1972, when their 410,202 students represented 8.35 percent of the state's school-age population. By 1980 state Department of Education statistics showed that their numbers had grown to 507,400 students. The big jump came in 1981, however, when enrollments leaped to 529,013, or 11.6 percent. They peaked in 1983 at 11.7 percent. That growth came in spite of tuitions that can range up to $6000 a year at the most elite independent schools — comparable to many prestigious private colleges. The bill is substantially lower at parochial schools, where churches often underwrite part of the cost of educating their young.

Bruce Keuning, president of the California Association of Private School Organizations, argues that money plays a secondary role in many parents' choice of a private school. "In many instances, parents are dissatisfied locally with what's happening in public schools and, with the stiff competition for name colleges, they want the best academic preparation possible for their students," he says. "And they'll pay whatever it costs."

Religions and academics

The largest segment of the private-school market, however, is linked as closely to religion as academics. Religious schools represented 61.6 percent of California's private school enrollment in the 1984-85 school year. Parochial schools have always been strong, but fundamentalist christian schools — or evangelical Protestant schools, as their leaders prefer to call them — have become extremely popular during the last decade, and their numbers multiply every year.

Paul A. Kienel, executive director of the Association of Christian Schools International, likes to point out that evangelical Protestant schools are popping up across the nation at the rate of three a day. His organization alone claims 460,061 students nationally this year, nearly 70,000 more than in the previous year. Altogether, he estimates there are about 3.75 million students enrolled in 25,000 such schools.

Kienel traces the dramatic growth in Christian schools back to Madalyn Murray O'Hair's successful campaign to ban prayer from public schools in the 1960's. "That really ignited the return to evangelical Protestant schools," he says. "Then the academic decline set in."

California has led the way for the nation in this field, he says, with about 150,000 students in 900 schools. "Evangelical Protestants feel alienated now in the public system," Kienel says. "We feel as discriminated against as the racial minorities did in the '60s. Probably the least-influential voice in the public system is the evangelical Protestants'. Probably the most dreaded book in the classroom is the Bible."

Another essentially religious trend in private schools is the home-teaching movement, says Janet McCormick, manager of the office of private schools for the state Department of Education. Many parents conduct schools for their own children, often using packaged teaching materials, in an attempt to shelter them from outside influences that might diverge from the family's philosophy. Last year 1290 such schools with four or fewer students registered with the state.

"The home-schooling movement is probably as fundamentally a religious movement as any," McCormick says. "It's an outgrowth of the Christian belief that children need to be raised in the family traditions before they're exposed to the world."

Whether it operates out of a spare bedroom in the family home or a former public school campus, any private school faces few state restrictions. Essentially, it's an unregulated field without standards for schools, teachers or coursework.

The state Department of Education collects the private schools' enrollment figures but does not verify them. "We don't monitor, review, or otherwise supervise private schools," McCormick says. "The law says that children can only attend full-time day schools that teach the subjects taught in public schools. But then there are no specific standards for that curriculum. It must merely encompass those subject areas (taught in public schools). There is no standardized testing required."

Easy open

All a private school must do to open in California is register with the state Department of Education and keep daily attendance records. Its teachers now must be fingerprinted and their background checked by the Department of Justice. But they do not need a state license or even a college degree.

Those facts often surprise parents, McCormick says. "They assume schools are regulated and teachers are certificated."

In the absence of regulation, McCormick argues, government should be wary of voucher programs such as those advocated by President Reagan. They would give parents a set amount of money to spend on their children's education and allow them to choose between private and public school. "It would be subsidizing a totally unregulated system, and I think there would be problems," she says.

Reagan, however, remains committed to the voucher principle as an extension of his free-market philosophy. He's been pushing it without success since his election to the White House. One bill died in Congress after a single hearing in 1983. The administration's latest effort to introduce vouchers is The Equity and Choice Act of 1985, which would give low-income parents an average of $600 to use at the public or private school they decide best suits their children's educational needs. Education Secretary William Bennett announced the proposal last November, characterizing it as an improvement to the current Chapter 1 program, which funnels $3.2 billion a year to state and local agencies to provide special help for about 5 million disadvantaged children.

"In fact, this legislation will encourage competition among all schools — among public schools, private schools, and between public and private schools in providing educational services for the disadvantaged," Bennett said at the time. "This is a good thing. It will lead to better educational services for these children and greater opportunities for them in later life."

Critics immediately attacked the proposal.

Mary Hatwood Futrell, president of the National Education Association, called it "a sham" and pointed out that $600 would not go far toward tuition in many private schools. She was joined by Albert Shanker, president of the rival American Federation of Teachers, who called it a cannibalization of the program it was meant to replace.

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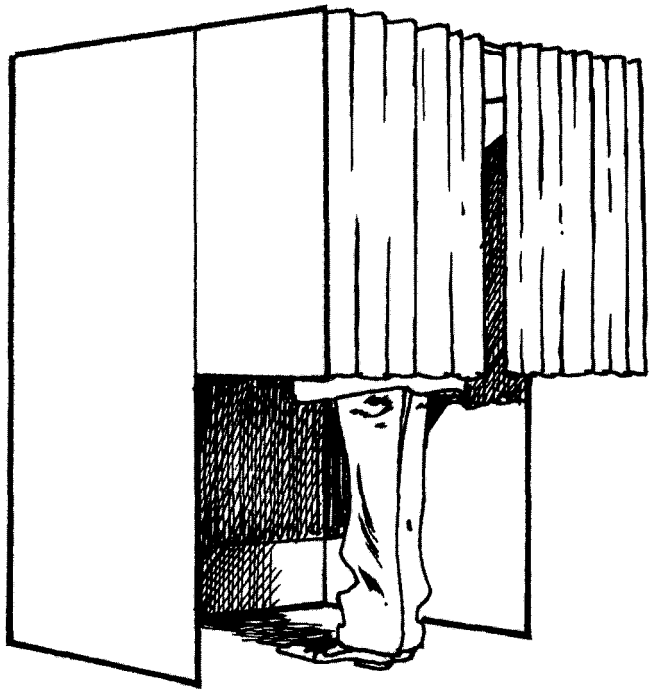
June ballot measures



42 VETERANS' BOND ACT OF 1986: *This act proposes an $850 million bond issue to provide farm and home loans to California veterans.*

Background: Under the Cal-Vet loan program, about $5.7 billion in general obligation bonds have been sold since 1921 to finance the purchase of farms, homes and mobile homes by the Department of Veteran Affairs. These are then resold to veterans at low monthly payments reflecting the reduced interest rate at which the state is able to borrow. All bonds previously authorized to provide loans for this program have been sold.

The proposal: If enacted, this measure would authorize the state to sell $850 million in general obligation bonds to continue the Cal-Vet program. Although backed by the full taxing power of the state, the intent of the bonds is for repayment of all principal and interest to come from the mortgage payments of veterans who receive the loans.

Arguments for: Democratic Assemblyman Richard Floyd, who authored the bill, argues that Proposition 42 is the continuation of a 63-year tradition of support for veterans in California. He maintains that the Cal-Vet program is self-supporting and that all interest and administrative costs are repaid through the monthly payments made by veterans themselves.

Arguments against: Although no one has filed a formal argument against Proposition 42, there are potential fiscal costs. If payments by participating veterans do not cover the principal and interest payments on the bonds, it would be up to the state's taxpayers to make up the difference. As with all bond measures, there are also indirect costs, namely, possibly increased borrowing costs for other bonds and a loss of state tax revenue because holders of these bonds pay no taxes on the income they receive.

43 COMMUNITY PARKLANDS ACT OF 1986: *This act proposes issuing a $100 million bond for acquiring or improving local and regional parks, beaches and recreational areas.*

Background: In the past, money for local and regional parks and recreation projects has been provided by the state through the sale of general obligation bonds (those fully backed by the state). By some estimates, all but 4 percent of the previously authorized park bonds will have been spent

Continued on next page

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or earmarked for specific projects by July 1986.

The proposal: If enacted, this measure will allow the state to sell $100 million in general obligation bonds to be allocated to counties, cities, and districts operating parks or recreational facilities. These allocations are based on population, with every county receiving a minimum amount. Each grant is subject to legislative approval, and local agencies will be required to contribute 25 percent of the project cost.

Arguments for: Led by Democratic Senator Robert Presley, Democratic Assemblyman Jim Costa and the California Park and Recreation Society, the proponents of this measure argue that funding for local recreation programs has been insufficient in the past, that many facilities have deteriorated and others have not been developed for public use. Citing the long-term public benefits of investing in recreational projects, the proponents also argue that bond financing is an appropriate way of spreading costs over the lifetime of a project.

Arguments against: Headed by Republican Assemblyman Dennis Brown, the opposition to Proposition 43 questions the need for additional funding for parks and recreation programs, claiming that there will already be $70 million available for parks next year from existing bonds. Opponents to this measure also see bond financing as a expensive (although politically expedient) means of freeing tax revenue for use in other programs.

44 WATER CONSERVATION AND WATER QUALITY BOND LAW OF 1986: *This measure proposes selling a $150 million bond to pay for water conservation, groundwater recharge, and drainage water management projects.*

Background: In 1984 voters approved a Clean Water Bond Act which provided $10 million in bonds to finance water conservation projects. By March of 1986 those funds are expected to be allocated. More recently, attention has been focused on two areas of water-resource management which have not previously been addressed: groundwater recharge, which means putting water back underground until it is needed; and the treatment and disposal of agricultural drainage water. There has never been a state program to provide funding for either of these areas of water-resource management.

The proposal: Proposition 44 would allow the state to sell $150 million in general obligation bonds for the funding of projects dealing with water conservation, groundwater recharge and the treatment and disposal of agricultural drainage water. The money would be allocated equally among these different programs in the form of low-interest loans to public agencies for studies and construction programs.

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Arguments for: Led by Democratic Assemblyman Jim Costa of Fresno and Attorney General John Van de Kamp, proponents argue that Proposition 44 would provide funding for much needed water-conservation and quality control programs in California. They also argue that, as a loan program, this measure is sound public policy since it ensures repayment and makes funds available without raising taxes or redirecting funds from existing programs.
Arguments against: Gary B. Wesley, a San Jose attorney, argues that there is no requirement that the loans made available by this measure would be paid back. As regards the money allotted to the "agricultural drainage water account", Wesley calls this proposal a taxpayers' subsidy to big agricultural interests. He maintains that the clean-up of pollution caused by irrigation waters should be paid for by agricultural interests as a business expense. Wesley also cites the hidden costs of any bond issue (namely, lost tax revenue) as a reason for opposition.

45 DEPOSIT OF PUBLIC MONEYS IN CREDIT UNIONS. LEGISLATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT: *This amendment will permit the Legislature to allow state money to be deposited in any California credit union.*

Background: Currently, the Legislature is given authority by the state constitution to deposit public moneys only in banks or savings-and-loan associations in California. These deposits are overseen by the state treasurer, while the superintendent of banks oversees deposits made by local agencies.

The proposal: Proposition 45 would amend the state constitution to authorize the Legislature to deposit public moneys in California credit unions as well as in banks and savings and loans.

Arguments for: The proponents of this amendment measure, led by Democratic Assemblyman Alister McAlister of San Jose, argue that it would allow more flexibility in public investment options. These diversified options in turn would insure a more competitive interest rate for the public funds to be invested.
Arguments against: Opposition to this measure is headed by the California Municipal Treasurers Association. In the case of voluntary closure of a credit union, they argue, depositors must wait until assets are liquidated to provide sufficient funds for repayment. This process may take more than three years, and during this period of liquidation no further interest is required to be paid on deposits. Under circumstances of involuntary closure, deposits up to $100,000 are insured and repayment is normally made within two weeks.

46 PROPERTY TAXATION. LEGISLATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT: *This measure will allow taxpayers, on a two-thirds vote, to raise property taxes above the current 1 percent property tax limit for the acquisition or improvement of real property.*

Background: Since the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978 the California Constitution has limited the tax rate on real property to 1 percent of its full cash value. Because of this, local governments and school districts are no longer able to sell general obligation bonds to finance land acquisition and building construction. (A general obligation bond is backed by the full taxing powers of the government agency to assure repayment.) Thus local governments must either forego new land acquisition and construction or finance these activities in other ways.
The proposal: This amendment, if enacted, would allow local governments and schools to increase property taxes above the 1 percent limit set by Proposition 13 in order to finance general obligation bonds. This property tax increase would only occur if two-thirds of those voting in a local election were to approve the issuance of bonds. Also, the money raised through these bond sales could only be used to purchase or improve real property.
Arguments for: Authored by Democratic Assemblyman Dominic Cortese of San Jose, this bill is supported by the California Taxpayers Association as well as the California Chamber of Commerce. Proponents focus on the soundness of general obligation bond financing as opposed to other measures, claiming that the use of general obligation bond financing would have saved more than $50 million in interest costs last year. Also, given the two-thirds voter approval condition set on the sale of the bonds, this measure is said to return decision-making authority to local taxpayers.
Arguments against: There were no formal arguments against this measure filed with the secretary of state, but some legislators have raised concerns that the proposal violates the spirit of property tax-cutting Proposition 13.

47 ALLOCATION OF VEHICLE LICENSE FEE TAXES TO COUNTIES AND CITIES. LEGISLATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT: *This measure requires state-collected motor vehicle license fees to be apportioned to local government agencies.*

Background: Moneys from annual motor vehicle license fees in California are currently distributed by the state to counties and cities under provisions of state law. In the past a specified portion of these fees was allocated exclusively to local governments. But after passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, a dispute arose between state and local agencies over the distribution formula, and the amounts sent to local governments has varied, with the state taking a larger share for its own programs. With the easing of the budget crises over the past few years, however, all of the fee has been distrib-

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uted to cities and counties.

The proposal: This measure would amend the constitution to require the state to distribute all of the motor vehicle licensing revenue to cities and counties. It would, however, allow the Legislature to change the allocation of the money between cities and counties (currently, counties are to receive 60 percent and cities 40 percent).

Arguments for: Proponents of this measure, authored by Democratic Senator Ruben Ayala of San Bernardino, argue that the money from license fees is an important source of revenue for local government programs. Citing the history of the Legislature's use of these funds for state purposes, proponents maintain that nothing short of a constitutional amendment will ensure the local allocation of these funds. Cities and counties need a guaranteed source of money in order to protect the continuity of their programs, proponents maintain.

Arguments against: Although no formal arguments against this measure have been filed with the secretary of state, opposition to the measure focuses on the state's need for extra revenue during a budget crisis and the relative importance of state and local responsibilities.

48 LEGISLATORS' AND JUDGES' RETIREMENT. LEGISLATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT: *This constitutional amendment would restrict the retirement pay of legislators, judges and statewide office holders.*

Background: Under current law, members of the legislative and judicial retirement systems are entitled to pensions based on a percentage of the salary earned while in office. However, the law also provides for automatic increases in retirement benefits based on cost-of-living indexes. In some cases this has resulted in a few retirees receiving benefits that are actually larger than the salaries paid to current officeholders, primarily because the salaries of legislators, by constitutional limit, can increase no more than 5 percent each year.

The proposal: This measure proposes to limit the amount of retirement money to either the salary of the current office holder or to the highest salary actually received prior to retirement, whichever is greater. The limits would apply only to elected officials who first take office after December 31, 1986. The legislative analyst estimates the proposal will result in a small savings for the state, assuming inflation exceeds the salary increases granted current office holders.

Arguments for: Proponents, including state Senators Wadie Deddeh, a Democrat from San Diego, and Jim Ellis, a Republican from El Cajon, argue that the measure will place reasonable restrictions on the pensions of retired judges and state elected officials. The measure can only apply to new officials because the courts have ruled that current officeholders have a a vested right to the greater benefits promised to them during their terms in office.

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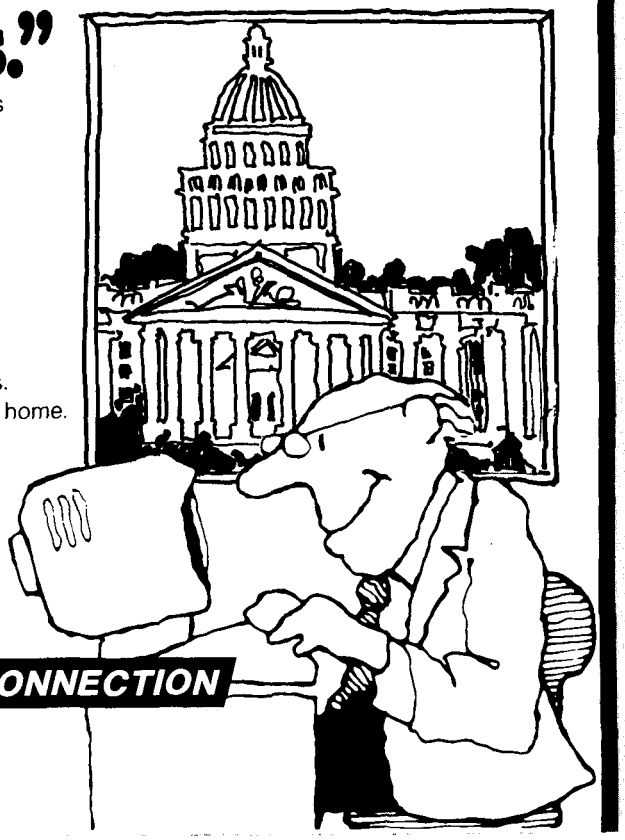

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Arguments against: No one has filed an argument against this measure, but it can be argued that the limits in this bill still provide better benefits than most citizens receive from their retirement systems since, under some circumstances, retired judges and officeholders would be able to collect full salary even though they are no longer working.

49 NONPARTISAN OFFICES. LEGISLATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT: *This measure prohibits a political party or party central committee from endorsing, supporting or opposing a candidate for nonpartisan office.*

Background: The state constitution states that judicial, school, county and city elective offices are to be nonpartisan. Until recently, the constitutional requirement that these offices be nonpartisan was considered also to prohibit political parties from becoming involved in campaigns for these offices. However, in a recent series of cases, state courts have ruled that political parties are, in fact, free to make such endorsements. This measure would return things to the situation that prevailed before the court rulings.
The proposal: This amendment would prohibit political parties from supporting or opposing individuals seeking any nonpartisan office, including judicial posts, school boards, city councils or boards of supervisors.
Arguments for: Authored by Republican Assemblyman Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia, this amendment is also supported by Democratic Senator Joseph Montoya of Whittier, the League of California Cities, the California Judges Association and the County Supervisors Association of California. Proponents argue that nonpartisan officials, particularly judges, would be more subject to corruption and political partiality if party endorsements were allowed. California has a long history of nonpartisan local and judicial elected officials that has worked to the benefit of all citizens. Proponents say this would be damaged if these officials now must curry favor with "party bosses" in order to win election-time endorsements.
Arguments against: Opponents — Democratic Senator Bill Lockyer and Democratic Assemblyman Johan Klehs, both of San Leandro, and the consumer group Common Cause — say a ban on endorsements violates First Amendment rights of free speech to political parties. Political parties, they say, have a right to participate in the political dialogue.

50 PROPERTY TAXATION. DISASTERS. LEGISLATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT: *This amendment protects property owners from having their property reassessed at a higher level, in the event it is destroyed or damaged by a natural disaster.*

Background: The California Constitution states that real property is to be taxed on the basis of its "full cash value." This full cash value is, in turn, based on the property's market value in the year it was purchased or newly constructed (allowing for an annual 2-percent increase to reflect inflation). In the case of a structure rebuilt after a disaster, the constitution states that if the new building is comparable in market value to the original structure, the full cash value will not be increased to reflect the new construction.
The proposal: If enacted, this amendment would allow a replacement for disaster-damaged property to have the same value for tax purposes as the original. This amendment seeks to address the problem of multiple disasters (floods, fires) recurring in the same location and attempts to encourage property owners by giving them the option to rebuild in a safer spot. This proposal would only be applicable if the governor declares a disaster, if the disaster reduces the market value of the property by half, and if the replacement property is of comparable value and located in the same county as the original.
Arguments for: Proponents are led by Republican state Senators Jim Ellis of El Cajon and Rebecca Morgan of Los Altos Hills, and by Democratic Senator Diane Watson of Los Angeles. They argue that property owners must be allowed to resettle in a safer area after a disaster without being penalized.
Arguments against: San Jose attorney Gary B. Wesley argues that the measure does not go far enough to alleviate the burden of property reassessment. He calls for a comprehensive amendment to the state constitution that would eliminate automatic reassessment whenever property changes ownership.

51 MULTIPLE DEFENDANTS TORT DAMAGE LIABILITY. INITIATIVE STATUTE: *This measure limits the amount that can be collected from any one defendant in a damage suit where more than one defendant is judged at fault.*

Background: This initiative — the only one on the June ballot — concerns one of the most complicated areas of California law: tort liability, the rules that are used when one person sues another. The law in this area has changed considerably over the years, with the courts generally expanding the rights of individuals to collect damages when they have been injured. While this has worked to the benefit of those harmed and to the lawyers who represent them in exchange for a percentage of the award, those who must pay these awards — most often insurance companies — have complained of unfairly rising costs. This initiative addresses one aspect of this situation, "deep-pocket liability" (see *CJ*, May 1984). The proposal has brought together an unusual coalition of business and government groups that stand to benefit from the limit on this kind of award. These groups are sometimes included in damage suits, even though their fault may be minor,

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because they have the resources to pay large awards should one be granted by a jury. They have attempted to win approval of their proposed changes from the Legislature for several years without success. This year, they banded together and quickly obtained the signatures necessary to put a proposal on the ballot. Opposing it are the state's trial lawyers and some consumer groups.

Under current law a person injured or suffering property damage, such as might occur following an automobile accident, can go to court to try and recover damage money from the responsible individuals, organizations or firms. In such cases, juries determine the amount of the award and how much responsibility for that award each defendant must assume.

The law also provides that each defendant judged to be at fault in a damage case is responsible for the total amount of the award, including both actual "economic" losses, such as medical costs and lost wages, and "non-economic" costs, usually known as "pain and suffering." In cases where more than one defendant is judged responsible, but one or more of the defendants is financially incapable of paying the award, the remaining defendant must pay all of it.

Although the issue deals with the complexities of law, the campaigns both for and against this issue are likely to be waged on an emotional level. Proponents are discussing television spots that show police and fire stations closing down because cities can't get liability insurance, while opponents can draw on badly injured victims who might be denied some compensation were the initiative to pass. Both sides will be well-financed, and it's likely more money will be spent on this issue than on any other June campaign.

The proposal: This measure would limit the liability of defendants for the "non-economic" portion of the award to the percentage each defendant is found to be at fault. All defendants would still be responsible for 100 percent of the "economic" losses awarded. Thus, if a non-economic award totaled $100,000, and the economic award totaled $100,000, a defendant judged 10 percent responsible would have to pay no more than $10,000 for the non-economic award and $100,000 for the economic award, or a maximum of $110,000.

Arguments for: Supported by a large coalition of insurance firms, businesses and government agencies, backers of this measure argue that it is unfair for them to pay the full award in a damage suit when little of the responsibility is actually theirs. They argue that lawyers are adding "deep pocket" defendants to cases just so they can be sure the award will be paid and they will collect their fees. This places a burden on all citizens because it increases insurance rates and because government agencies are frequently named in these suits. Awards against the government must be paid by the taxpayers. This situation, in part, has made it difficult for cities and counties to obtain liability insurance to protect them from such awards.

The change sought by this measure would again make it easier for government agencies to obtain liability insurance and would permit liability insurance for private firms to be reduced by 10 to 15 percent. The supporters argue that their proposed change is fair because the injured person will still be able to collect 100 percent of his or her actual losses, including both medical expenses and lost wages. All that will be curtailed is the "pain and suffering" award and these are frequently arbitrary and depend on the sympathies of a particular jury. In addition, they argue, current law primarily benefits lawyers, whose fees are often based on a percentage of the award.

Arguments against: Most of the opposition to this measure is being financed by the California Trial Lawyers Association, the group of lawyers who try this type of case. But they have been joined by consumer groups and groups representing the defendants in some cases, such as the victims of asbestos poisonings. They argue that the measure will prevent an innocent victim who has been damaged from collecting the full amount he or she deserves. Two classes of victims will be established. One class will be fully compensated because they have been damaged by an individual or group with large resources that can pay the full amount. The other, however, will not receive full compensation because most of the damage was done by an individual or group that has limited resources. That situation is unfair and the current law solves this. Opponents argue there is no guarantee that insurance will become more easily available, or that rates will fall. In addition, they say any benefits will go to increase insurance company profits or to benefit large corporations that hold big liability policies because they have substantial assets to protect. The opponents also maintain that the threat of major court awards encourages businesses and government to provide safe and functional goods and services. The lawyers argue the fees they earn are justified, and if it were not for the potential of fees based on the size of awards, individuals without the resources to pay lawyers' fees in advance would never be able to sue. This system has given poor individuals equal access to the court system, they contend.

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52 COUNTY CORRECTIONAL FACILITY CAPITAL EXPENDITURE BOND ACT OF 1986. *Authorizes the sale of a $450 million bond for the construction of county jails.*

Background: In 35 of California's 58 counties, jails and juvenile facilities contain more people than they were designed to hold. To date, voters have authorized $530 million in general-obligation bonds for county jail improvements. This money will be fully allocated by 1988.

The proposal: This measure would authorize the state to sell $450 million in general-obligation bonds to finance the construction and maintenance of county jails and juvenile facilities. A maximum of $20 million would be spent on the latter. State grants for new jails could cover up to 75 percent of the cost, with counties providing the other 25 percent. In addition, counties must show they have plans for housing juveniles, the mentally ill or drunks in alternative facilities. They also must show they have attemped to use alternatives to incarceration, such as work-release or weekend-work programs.

Arguments for: Headed by the proposition's author, Democratic Senator Robert Presley of Riverside, Assembly Republican leader Pat Nolan of Glendale and Democratic Assemblyman Richard Robinson of Garden Grove, proponents of this measure argue that money for county jail improvements is a mandatory safety measure. Citing the current problems of overcrowding in California's county facilities, the backers warn that the housing of violent offenders in jails intended for minor offenders jeopardizes the safety of other prisoners, jail staff and the communities in which the jails are located. Proponents also emphasize that this proposition will allow money to go only to facilities which are operated efficiently and which have demonstrated a need for these bond funds.

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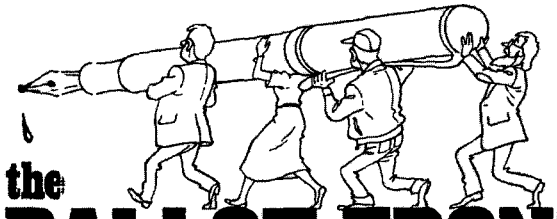
Arguments against: The opponents of this measure, whose arguments are stated by Cleve Jones of the Friends Committee on Legislation, believe that the construction of new county jails is not the best way to deal with overcrowding in our detention facilities. Jones maintains that jails are not crowded with serious offenders but with people awaiting trial, with public drunks, the mentally ill and juvenile offenders. Opponents say alternatives to incarceration such as youth programs, detoxification centers and community mental-health facilities would provide a cost-effective and long-term solution to the current problem of overcrowding without compromising the public's safety.



the BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 393,835 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 630,136. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure. (Regardless of the constitutional deadline, sponsors must submit signatures by April 18th for an initiative to be placed on the November 1986 ballot.)*

New in circulation:

CAMPAIGN SPENDING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Walter Gerken of Corona del Mar, that would limit campaign spending and contributions and set up partial state funding for candidates for state office. Under provisions of this initiative, an individual could contribute no more than $1000 per election to any one legislative candidate and no more than $25,000 annually to all candidates. Organizations could contribute no more than $2500 per candidate and political action committees no more than $5000 per candidate. In addition, non-election-year fund raising would be prohibited. Finally, the measure would establish a Campaign Reform Fund which could provide matching funds to qualified candidates. Money for the fund would come from a check-off on state income tax returns. (August 1st)

OPEN PRIMARY ELECTIONS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Cynthia Trania and Joseph Gattuso from the San Francisco Bay area, that would allow all registered voters to cast ballots in primary elections. (August 1st)

TOXIC DISCHARGES — DRINKING WATER — an initiative statute, sponsored by Democratic Assemblymen Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento and Gray Davis of Los Angeles. Democratic state Senator Art Torres of Los Angeles, David Roe of the Environmental Defense Fund and Carl Pope of the League of Conservation Voters. If enacted by voters, the measure would require the state to identify and publish a list of potentially hazardous chemicals and prohibit the discharge of those chemicals into drinking water. (July 25th)

BEVERAGE CONTAINERS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Bill Shireman of Sacramento, that would require those who make, distribute or sell beverages to offer refillable containers and bottles for sale. Containers would be redeemed by dealers or redemption centers for not less than five cents each. (July 21st)

STAR WARS — an initiative statute, sponsored by William Flannery of North Hollywood, that would urge the federal government to conclude a treaty with the Soviet Union to ban weapons in space. (July 21st)

CANNABIS CONTROL ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Barton C. Gilbert of Burbank, that would declare marijuana (cannabis) to be "an intoxicant alongside dry wine" and regulated as such by the state's alcoholic-beverage control agencies. It would repeal the current statutory listing of marijuana as a controlled, illegal hallucinogen. This marks the 16th time in the last 20 years that an initiative has attempted to legalize marijuana. (July 14th)

Continuing in circulation:

CONTRACTORS — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Paul Gann of Carmichael. (April 14th, January 1986)

MALPRACTICE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Dr. Russell S. Kussman of Los Angeles. (May 1st, January 1986)

OFFICIAL STATE LANGUAGE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Stanley Diamond, Carol Strayer and former U.S. Senator S. I. Hayakawa of San Francisco. (June 26th, February 1986)

FIREARMS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Carl Murphy, Bernadine Smith and Richard Deming of Hanford. (June 26th, February 1986)

AIDS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Khushro Ghandi and Bruce Lutz of Los Angeles. (May 22nd, February 1986)

CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Sterling Norris of Northridge. (May 19th, February 1986)

PESTICIDE DISCLOSURE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Robert Boesch of San Francisco. (May 19th, February 1986)

DEATH PENALTY — an initiative statute, sponsored by GOP Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Fullerton. (May 19th, February 1986)

TAXATION: LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND DISTRICTS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Howard Jarvis of Los Angeles. (May 15th, February 1986)

TAXATION — an initiative constitutional amendment, also sponsored by Jarvis. (May 15th, February 1986)

MOTOR VEHICLE LIABILITY INSURANCE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Adam Burton of Los Angeles. (June 26th, March 1986)

SECOND DEGREE MURDER SENTENCES — an initiative statute, sponsored by James B. Roufs of San Luis Obispo. (July 7th, March 1986)

Failed to qualify:

ABORTION — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Susan Sassone of Fountain Valley, that would have prevented public money from being spent "directly or indirectly for the killing of innocent human individuals from fertilization until natural death."

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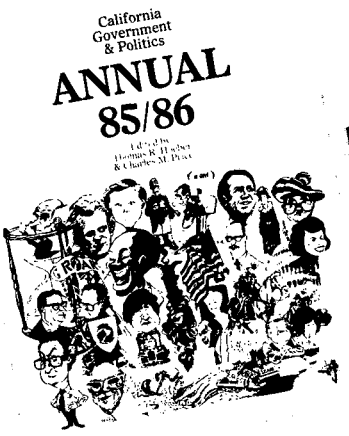

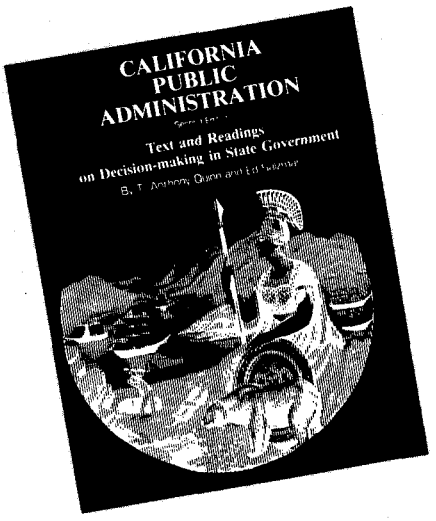

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TEACHER TROUBLES

What can be done?

By ANN BANCROFT

After the much-ballyhooed passage of the 1983 education reform legislation (SB813) and enactment of a state lottery advertised as a gold mine for public schools, the average Californian might be thinking a renewal of the sagging public school system is just around the corner.

Quite the contrary, warns the state Commission on the Teaching Profession. After an extensive, 18-month study of teaching in the public schools, the commission concluded that the bulwark of California's educational system — its teaching corps — is in miserable shape and bound to get worse unless the profession is given a radical and costly overhaul soon.

The privately-funded, 17-member commission representing schools, businesses and labor was sponsored by Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig and the chairs of the Legislature's education committees — Assemblywoman Teresa Hughes, a Los Angeles Democrat, and Senator Gary Hart, a Democrat from Santa Barbara. In a 53-page report, "Who Will Teach Our Children?" released last November, the so-called Commons Commission (after chairman Dorman Commons, a San Francisco business consultant) compiled a sobering list of conclusions.

In the next four years, the commission found, an additional 450,000 students will enter the public school system, and the schools must recruit nearly 85,000 new teachers by the end of the decade to cope with the influx. Yet low salaries, low prestige, inadequate facilities and supplies — and the largest class sizes in the nation — discourage bright young people from beginning teaching careers in California. Increasing numbers of those who do pursue teaching quit during the first five years. Unless some serious and costly steps are taken to reverse the trend and renew support for teaching as a profession, the commission warned, the results could show up in an entire generation of poorly educated children, ill-equipped to compete in the competitive marketplace and support a rapidly aging population.

A quick response

Legislators were quick to respond to the report and have already drafted many of its recommendations into bills — including a measure by Hart to reduce class sizes in public schools at a cost of $60 million a year. But Governor George Deukmejian, who proclaims education as his "number one" budget priority and has campaigned on past spending increases for public schools, has twice vetoed class-size reduction bills and has indicated that such costly reforms would come only through "redirecting" money spent for other education programs.

SB813 provided more than $3.2 billion to public schools over the past three years. But if all or most of the commission

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Ann Bancroft is a freelance writer from Sacramento.

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recommendations were passed into law, that would be a drop in the bucket. Nearly all of the state's 1030 school districts have already complied with the legislation's mandates for lengthening the school day and school year and beefing up graduation requirements, according to a California Tax Foundation study.

For example, the "mentor teacher" program established by the bill — which allows districts to give extra pay to exemplary teachers in return for extra duties — is operating in 72 percent of all school districts. Few of the SB813 reforms, however, were directed toward increasing the esteem or the rewards of the teaching profession, or aimed at ensuring that only qualified teachers get credentials.

And of all the bill's provisions, the two that most likely would enhance the reputation of teaching — increasing beginning teachers' salaries and making it easier for districts to fire incompetent teachers — are the two that have been adopted by the fewest districts. Only 37 percent of the state's school districts have chosen to increase beginning teachers' salaries in order to become eligible for salary funding made available in the bill. SB813 offered money for school districts to increase minimum teacher salaries by 10 percent each year for three years, up to a maximum of $20,200. The average beginning teacher salary, according to California Teachers Association president Marilyn Russell Bittle, remains at $17,600 — far below many private-sector jobs that require comparable training.

Many districts feared that if they raised beginning teachers' salaries last year, they would be stuck with a higher salary schedule but no guarantee the state would pay for the higher salaries in the next few years, when more teachers will be needed, said James Donnelly, lobbyist for the Association of California School Administrators.

As for firing bad teachers, the privately-funded Cal-Tax study found that provisions of SB813 to streamline disciplinary procedures have had almost no effect on the state's school districts.

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According to the Commons Commission, a fundamental change in the way teachers are educated, credentialed, paid and given tenure is necessary if California is to attract and retain quality instructors. Among the commission's recommendations:

- spending up to $800 million to reduce class sizes in public schools, $30 million to increase beginning teachers' salaries and $107 million to give 15 percent salary increases to experienced teachers who complete advanced study programs and receive certification by a new California Teaching Standards Board;
- giving greater responsibility to teachers for setting, improving and policing their own profession;
- strengthening the mentor-teacher program, and establishing a system of peer review for teachers;
- giving colleges and universities more flexibility for training teachers and holding them accountable for the quality of teachers they produce;
- requiring schools to issue "report cards" on themselves to let the public know exactly how they rate in such areas as class sizes, adequacy of textbooks and teaching materials, teacher assignments outside their area of competence, counseling and other special services and overall "learning environment."

Reaction to the report from teachers' associations, school boards, school administrators and other educational professionals was almost universally positive.

"It is really truly phenomenal," reports Jonathan Lewis, executive director of the commission. "The legislative mood in both parties and both houses is very receptive; I can't think of any conversation where people have been critical of what we've said, from either side of the political spectrum."

In late January, Hart and Republican state Senator Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach, both former school teachers, introduced comprehensive bills to implement 10 of the commission's recommendations, and by the February 21st deadline for bill introductions, several related bills had been introduced by other authors.

Hart's bill, SB1604, would:

- Begin in 1987-88 an eight-year plan to make high school classes in math, English, science and social science no larger than 20 pupils. The bill would appropriate $60 million next year to begin the program. The national average for such classes is 18 pupils for teacher, while in California the student-teacher ratio averages 30-1.
- Strengthen teacher tenure provisions by increasing the probationary period for new teachers from two to three years. The burden of proof for showing competency would be placed on the teacher-applicant instead of on the school district. A system of peer review would be set up for evaluating probationary teachers in the classroom, and a more rigorous system of evaluation of tenured teachers would be established.
- Require schools to create a report about the "conditions of learning" at each site every other year — the "report card" suggested by the Commons Commission.
- Strengthen the mentor-teacher program to allow 10 percent, instead of the current 5 percent, of teachers to be designated as mentors. Money to do this would be subject to budget negotiations.
- Establish up to ten $100,000 pilot programs for school districts to develop "career options" for teachers — possibly designing new salary schedules for more experienced teachers or new classifications of teachers.

The Bergeson bill, SB1605, would:

- Abolish the Commission on Teacher Credentialing and replace it with a new, "tougher" California Teachers Standards Board. The board would be charged with developing

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new standards and entrance examinations for teachers, including a code of ethics. Credentials would be granted in three steps: a preliminary credential after five years of college; a permanent credential after passing an examination; and completing a one-year residency at a school under the supervision of both a mentor teacher and a professor from higher education. An advanced subject-matter specialty certificate would be granted to teachers who pass an exam after five years' classroom teaching experience.

- Restrict emergency teaching credentials (which have been widely used to hire uncredentialed teachers in areas with teacher-recruitment difficulties) so that applicants must have a B.A. major in the field in which they plan to teach, pass a test and be granted the credential only where there is a certified teacher shortage.

Other proposals

Several other legislators were developing proposals for education reforms as the deadline for bill introduction approached. Assemblyman Tom Hayden, a Santa Monica Democrat, was preparing bills related to the commission report that would raise cigarette taxes by 5 percent and impose a 10 percent surcharge on alcoholic beverages in order to raise more than $100 million to increase teacher salaries and $60 million to buy new instructional materials. Other Hayden bills would put work-study program recipients to work in public classrooms and create a scholarship program for minority teacher candidates.

Republican Assemblyman Chuck Bader of Pomona is carrying bills to develop a "career ladder" model for California teachers (AB3295); to develop a new system for testing teachers' competency and classroom performance (AB1062). Also being developed were bills to allow up to 10 percent of teachers to increase salaries by working year-round instead of the usual nine-month school year and to allow sabbaticals for public-school teachers.

California Federation of Teachers lobbyist Mary Bergan called the commission report and reaction to it "the most exciting thing I've seen in the 14 years I've been up here."

Donnelly said the school administrators he represents were nearly as enthusiastic. Even Richard Mastain, executive secretary of the state Commission on Teacher Credentialing that would be abolished under Bergeson's bill, praised the other recommendations for reform.

But most of the education lobbyists and representatives interviewed found something to quibble with about the proposed reforms. School board representatives and teachers point out that the commission didn't address the fact that many of the proposals would be subject to collective bargaining. And many feared that because of the enormous costs involved and the inevitable political trade-offs, a mere skeleton of the commission's proposal might wind up on the governor's desk.

"If they tie class-size reduction to something else, they're asking once again for (teachers) to subsidize public education," said Bittle of the CTA. The teachers support the commission's proposals if taken as a whole, but not if they are "cherry-picked" by the Legislature, she said. "They've always made it an either-or: take class-size reduction, or take better salaries."

Said Donnelly, "Our fear is that the commission's report was so comprehensive and so expensive the the Legislature would implement the cheap thing.

"Here's this brilliant report, 'Who Will Teach Our Children?' with recommendations and associated costs of some $4 billion. So someone will introduce a bill, it will move along, and wind up with, say, $30 million in it. Then the newspapers will say 'Massive School Reform Bill Passed.' And people will enroll their kids into a class of 40 and wonder, 'what is this bull . . . ?' "

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Once a dilemma. Now a crisis.

Thirty-two percent of California's teenagers aren't graduating from high school. That's about 100,000 dropouts each year.

In large cities the dropout rate has climbed above 40%.

In Los Angeles, it's approaching 50%.

The cost to society of the dropout crisis is staggering. More than half of the nation's prison inmates are dropouts — and it costs taxpayers $15,000 a year to house a prisoner in a correctional institution. That total is higher than the cost of a year of education at either Harvard or Yale.

The Business Advisory Commission of the Education Commission of the States recently called on all of society — business, schools, civic organizations, labor, and professional groups — to address the dropout problem. We as a nation cannot let one quarter of America's youth continue to drift toward hopelessness.

That's why the National Education Association has initiated a major new effort to rescue young people from academic failure. NEA has committed $1.7 million to this effort — one dollar for every NEA member. CTA's national organization will devote $700,000 to this war chest against scholastic failure to Operation Rescue, our new program to combat the dropout and illiteracy syndrome. The remaining $1 million will establish an endowment that will make educational excellence grants available to teachers for years to come. And we're asking other concerned groups — both inside and outside education — to match us, dollar for dollar, member for member. Our aim is to begin funding local dropout prevention programs no later than the fall of 1986.

Our goal with Operation Rescue? We want to help cut the dropout rate in half by 1990.

Our goal as an association? In over 128 years, that's never wavered. We stand for excellence in every classroom, for every child.

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A VIEW FROM THE CLASSROOM

Innovation, enthusiasm: keys to success

By ROBERT MANGE

I've watched the changes in California education since my days as a schoolboy. The system itself seems to go through changes in 10-year cycles: the Sputnik excitement of the 1950s to the "do your own thing" of the '60s, through the "back to basics" movement of the late '70s and into the push for reform in the 1980s.

These cycles have all been a learning experience for California educators, but the most critical period seemed to be the late '70s and early '80s. The state dropped from above the national average in money spent per-pupil to nearly $200 below the national average. In 1972 California ranked 18th among states in commitment of resources to education; by 1982 the state had plunged to 45th place.

This state of affairs made teaching in California very difficult and had a great effect on students. It meant a reduction in the amount of money available for textbooks, classroom supplies, equipment and materials. Part of the job of "teaching" was to scavenge and horde when it came to supplies and equipment. And it broke some teachers of the will to excel. This, then, was the nadir for California education.

There were some silver linings in this bleak cloud, however. We as teachers became more resourceful and more determined. After all, despite the hardships, we still had an important job to do — educate our future leaders.

More recently, California education has made important strides, beginning with SB813 reforms (1984-85) and the fact that education and education's needs have again become a focus of the Legislature.

Multi-cultural

One of the most unusual things about teaching in California is the multi-cultural and multi-lingual nature of the students. Student bodies with diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds are the norm and not the exception in California. Because whole-class instruction is often inadequate at best, California teachers look to individual instruction, peer teaching and the development of independent learners to increase classroom effectiveness.

I began my career in 1971 as a student teacher, then as a substitute at Folsom High School (near Sacramento). In 1972 I was hired as a full-time science teacher and have been at Folsom ever since. My first assignments were for physical science, basic chemistry and biology. But after a few years I experienced a great deal of frustration and began to question what I was really doing. I felt as though I were hitting my head against a wall because students just weren't performing

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

up to my expectations.

About that same time, I began to wonder: Do students really understand what I'm trying to do? Do they know how to meet my expectations? The answer, obviously, was "no." As many teachers have done, I began to research exactly how the mind works; how we, as human beings, think and learn. What are good study habits? How do good thinkers solve problems? How do good learners learn? This led me to study approaches to critical thinking and classroom management techniques.

How has this affected my teaching? For one thing, I now view my classroom as my business, and as in any successful business, I must have satisfied customers — successful students. My job is to provide students with the tools to learn, and by teaching study skills and thinking skills, I am able to convince the student that learning how to learn is what school is all about.

It is my experience that students learn best by doing. This means that we need active and busy classes — working out lab experiments, solving community problems, acting out famous historical events.

How do I approach my job as a teacher? Teaching isn't a job, it's a way of life, and the following quote by Hiam Ginott best exemplifies it:

"I have come to a frightening conclusion. I am the decisive element in the classroom. It is my personal approach that creates the climate. It is my daily mood that makes the weather. As a teacher, I possess tremendous power to make a child's life miserable or joyous. I can be a tool of torture or an instrument of inspiration. I can humiliate or humor, hurt or heal. In all situations it is my response that decides whether a crisis will be escalated or de-escalated, and a child humanized or dehumanized."

Robert Mange, a science teacher at Folsom High School near Sacramento, is California's 1986 Teacher of the Year.

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Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

The in-betw

Community colleges str

By DAVID SAVAGE

California's community colleges are the in-between schools. They are not high schools, nor are they state universities, but they resemble both.

Like high schools, they take everyone who walks up to the front door and are paid by the state based on the number of students sitting in class. Like the state universities, they offer courses that are supposed to comprise the first two years of a college education.

But that begins to describe the dilemma of the community colleges. How do you design courses that are parallel to the first two years at Berkeley or UCLA if students can enroll with a fifth-grade reading level? An instructor can move such a course down to the students' ability level, or he can teach as if they were Berkeley students, effectively closing the door on those who can't keep up. What doesn't work, however, is teaching poorly prepared students at a lower level while pretending they are really getting college-level material — an approach not uncommon among community college instructors.

Community colleges are also in between when it comes to governance. They are not state-run institutions like the University of California or the California State University system. They are governed essentially by locally elected boards that appoint the top administrators. But neither are they truly local or "community" institutions; not when nearly all their money comes from Sacramento. With such divided loyalties and responsibilities, it is not surprising that a political crisis ensued. California was the last state offering free and open enrollment to its two-year college students when, in 1983, Republican Governor George Deukmejian proposed a student fee of $100 per semester. Democratic leaders, backed by most community college officials, wanted no part of such a policy, believing that free education was both a right of the citizens and a strength for the state.

That political dispute has not ended, despite a settlement that resulted in a $50-per semester fee. Republicans and Democrats still voice sharply divergent views about the community colleges, and an independent Commission on the Review of the Master Plan for Higher Education has been created to resolve the disagreements.

A huge enterprise

The enterprise in question is enormous: 106 colleges, about 1.2 million students and a state budget cost of more than $1.6 billion.

For the past year, Deukmejian and Democratic leaders have largely put discussions on hold while the commission goes about its work. But the key elements of the commission's report have been clear for months. What will be interesting to watch is how the report will be received by the competing factions.

The commission has agreed to set forth what it calls the "priority" missions of the community colleges. These echo the original 1960 Master Plan, as the commission says in its final report. "The primary mission of the community college

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een schools

e for identity and respect

(is) to provide access to higher education for those whose high school academic record, financial circumstances or family obligations prevented their attendance at the University of California or the state colleges, and to provide access to vocational training for those who sought employment instead of a baccalaureate degree."

"Convinced that the colleges cannot successfully be all things to all people," the commission's report says these two missions must be emphasized before all others.

There's no surprise here. This has been the conventional wisdom among college officials for the past few years. "I think there's general agreement we drifted too far away from the core missions in the '60s and '70s," said former state Chancellor Gerald Hayward, now a consultant in Sacramento. "The colleges moved in the direction of life-long learning and that sort of thing, which is good but not as high a priority. The main reason for their (colleges') existence is the transfer and vocational function," he added.

The commission report includes several proposals to strengthen the transfer arrangements between the community colleges and the four-year universities. It calls on the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges, working with the UC Board of Regents and the CSU Board of Trustees, to "develop and maintain a general education transfer core curriculum which . . . will ensure transfer to UC or CSU upon successful completion of the appropriate courses." It says these requirements should not only be clearly spelled out, but should be transmitted to high schools so that students know what they face.

The commission also calls for "a mandatory assessment, placement, counseling and follow-up program" in all the community colleges. This recommendation seeks to "combine open access with clearly defined academic standards." That is, all students would be permitted to enroll in the college, but they may be required to meet minimum standards on an assessment test before enrolling in certain courses.

The commission report is much less clear in discussing the other roles played by the colleges. While the transfer and vocational functions are said to be the "primary functions" of the colleges, the report says "remedial education" should be "affirmed as an important function of the colleges, because it is the key to helping students with diverse backgrounds prepare to succeed." Further, it recommends that "non-credit adult education be affirmed as an authorized function of the colleges for those adults who cannot or do not wish to enroll in the regular credit program," and that "fee-based community service education be affirmed as an authorized function" for colleges trying to serve the the interests of their communities.

The remedial education issue is a touchy one. The commission could have said that persons who lack a high school diploma and need help with basic reading and arithmetic should enroll in adult basic-education courses offered by the high schools. This might have made more organizational sense, but college officials point out that many of these adults will simply not return to a high school.

Continued on next page

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The rights and wishes of the students — whose average age is 28, according to college officials — were not as closely observed when considering the issue of where they may enroll. The commission had been expected to take a clear stand on the so-called "free flow" issue. That is, can a student enroll in the college of his choice or must he be restricted to the colleges in his district of residence? The Los Angeles college district, which has experienced a mass outflow of students, favors such a restriction, and the commission, at the behest of several members of the Los Angeles delegation to the Legislature, has put off further discussion of this question until next year.

The commission has also tiptoed around the governance issue. In January it set off howls of protest among local community college trustees by suggesting, in one of several proposals, that their jobs be eliminated.

"The community colleges are state-funded but locally controlled," says Lee Kerschner, the commission's executive director, in a terse summary of the problem. The state's Little Hoover Commission echoed many others in concluding in a recent report that there is "no central point of accountability" in the community colleges. The commissioners say they want to put more power in the hands of state officials — probably through strengthening the state board of governors — but local trustees and administrators are not offering to give up any of their authority. In February the commission decided, as it did with the free flow issue, to ponder this question into next year.

Perhaps, though, everyone is looking to the wrong place for a clear picture of where the community colleges are going. The Master Plan Commission is not the first committee to have trouble speaking with a clear voice. While others have been watching the workings of the 15-member panel, California's new community college chancellor, Joshua Smith, has been moving around the state, making his views clear to the various factions of the college community. Smith is an academic in the best sense of the term. A graduate of the Boston Latin School with degrees from Boston University and Harvard, Smith is an articulate advocate for colleges that offer both an open door and stringent standards.

"We at the community colleges have made the commitment to give people who can benefit from instruction an extra push, a second and even a third chance," Smith said in a recent speech at the Claremont Graduate School of Education. "We must bring them into the colleges, assess them carefully, place them in the correct courses, make certain that they have a pair of shoes if they are academically barefooted in terms of skills, and then give them an opportunity to run the race."

Currently, the open door is often a "revolving door" for students who enter with aspiration but lack skill and clear direction, he said. The colleges "should forever banish from our language the phrase 'Students have a right to fail.' "

It was Smith who first proposed a statewide system of assessment tests so that courses have clearly-understood standards. He has also advocated a higher education tenure system for the college faculties so that instructors can be evaluated over several years by their peers, as opposed to getting tenure after two years as is the norm in high schools. And he has proposed that the state board of governors be given the authority to set policies for the two-year colleges, a responsibility that should not rest — as it does now — with either local boards or the Legislature.

Smith brings together both the instincts of a liberal who favors the open door and the conservative's respect for educational standards. Moreso than a commission report or a legislative consensus, Smith represents the best chance for a reinvigorated community college system in California.

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Dr. Joshua Smith

Can he reform a fragmented system?

By ROBERT SCHMIDT

California's first community college opened its doors in 1910, but it wasn't until 1968 that the 105 colleges that followed were organized into a single system by the Legislature. Now, less than 20 years later, the system once considered the nation's finest is coming under fire, and a new chancellor has been chosen to shepherd it through the changes necessary to restore it to eminence.

Dr. Joshua Smith, 51, was chosen last April to succeed Gerald Hayward and tackle what many consider the state's most difficult educational challenge. Trained by Harvard, Smith was toughened by a seven-year stint as president of the Borough of Manhattan Community College during a financial crisis that nearly bankrupted New York City.

Smith said he was aware before accepting California's $80,000-a-year post that its system was "wracked with uncertainty and change." And while his first few months have done nothing to diminish his apprehension, he says he finds it commendable that the system has the "good sense (to undergo) a healthy existential crisis."

Smith is not the first to express concern about the colleges, of course. Two years ago the Legislature created the Commission to Review the (1960) Master Plan for Higher Education, and told the 15-member commission that its first priority was to assess the community colleges and recommend changes.

It is Smith who will guide the colleges through those changes and set them on the course they will travel for the next few decades. "I think we made an outstanding choice," says Borgny Baird of Long Beach, a member of the board of governors. "We wanted a leader, someone who would come up with innovative ideas and who was an acknowledged authority in the field of education. I certainly feel that we came up with the person we were looking for. He has been very impressive."

Similar thoughts

Although they were prepared independently, the recommendations of the review commission and Smith's speeches are remarkably similar. Both state firmly that while community colleges should continue to let in just about anybody who thinks he or she can benefit, it should be made harder for students to stay in school unless they make satisfactory progress. By raising the grade point average required of continuing students, Smith said, "We will not become educational parking lots."

Both Smith and the report agree that it should be tougher to get and hold teaching jobs in the community colleges. Both also agree that the board of governors and the chancellor should be given the authority to do what needs to be done.

The community college system, Smith said in a speech last November, is administered by "an emasculated board of governors endowed by the Legislature with awesome responsibilities and puny authority, forced to (exercise) its will through a chancellor's office that is completely controlled and run by the state's civil service bureaucracy."

He may have the most trouble securing changes that boost his authority or that of the state board. By and large, community colleges are run by locally elected boards, and these have jealously guarded their prerogatives.

In January, Smith appeared before a joint Senate-Assembly committee overseeing the higher education review commission it had created. David Gardner, president of the University of California, and Ann Reynolds, chancellor of the California State University system, were with him on the agenda. Although he came with a prepared speech, Smith set it aside and spoke extemporaneously for nearly 10 minutes, chiding the committee at the outset for not inviting State Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig to participate.

"Nothing we do is separate from what Bill Honig does," he said. "We work with the students his system sends us. The process of educating young people is a continuing one, not segmented."

Continuing education

Smith's own education has been a continuing one. Born in Boston, the grandson of West Indian immigrants, he was educated in that city's public schools and graduated from Boston University in 1955. His father worked in the Massachusetts State Capitol and his mother was a secretary. Both were born in Massachusetts, and both are now deceased. He has a brother who is a teacher and a psychologist in Florida.

After leaving Boston University, Smith went into the Air Force, flew B-47s with the Strategic Air Command, and left active service as a captain in 1958. He went immediately to Harvard to do graduate work, received two graduate degrees and stayed as a teaching fellow and as an assistant to the director of the Harvard Center for Field Studies. He also taught social studies in Boston-area high schools.

He worked briefly as an administrator in the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, school system, spent six years with the Ford Foundation in New York City, and then became a professor of education at the City University of New York, becoming dean of the CUNY School of Education in 1976.

A year later he was asked to fill in as acting president of the crisis-ridden Borough of Manhattan Community College, and wound up taking the job formally in 1978.

A bachelor, he recently was elected president of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, and has served as president and chairman of the board of the National Faculty for Humanities, Arts and Sciences.

Robert Schmidt is a Capitol correspondent for the Long Beach Press Telegram.

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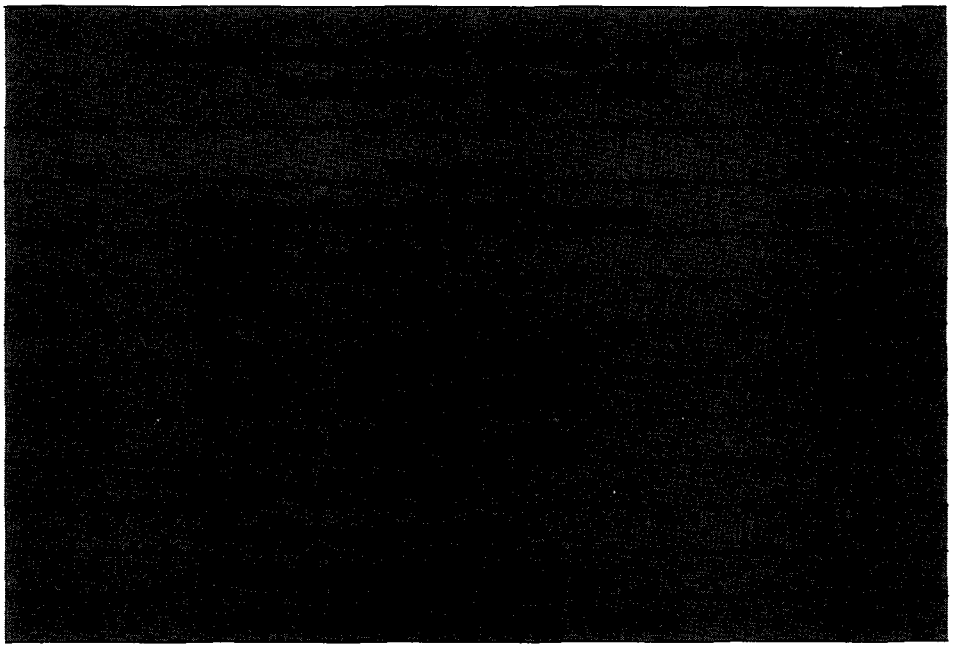

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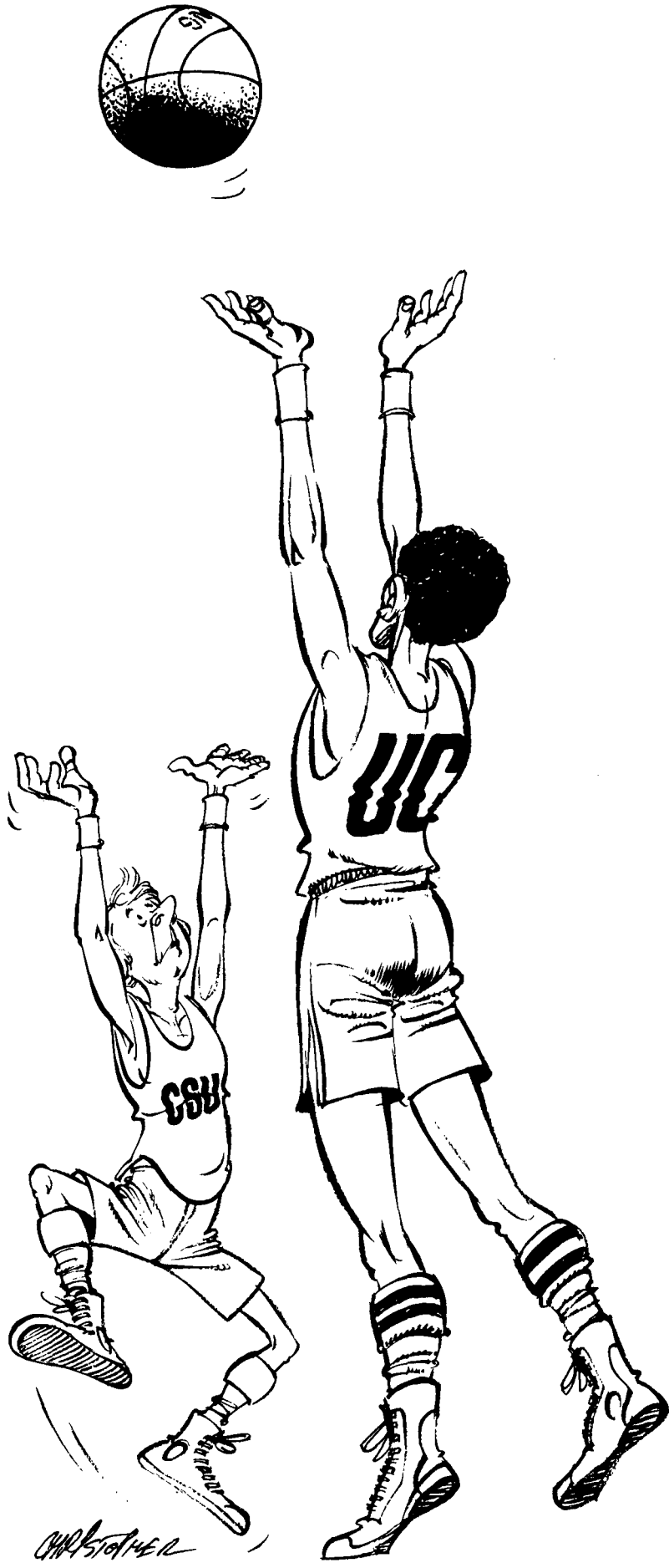
BIG BROTHER LITTLE BROTHER

The rivalry between the state's two university systems

By MICHAEL FALLON



The hefty 1986-87 state budget document that Governor George Deukmejian submitted to the Legislature, in a loose-leaf format tied together by a brown shoelace, reinforces a status perception.

"The University of California is recognized nationally and internationally for the excellence of its programs," the document says in an introductory paragraph. "In a recent, widely respected study, the Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses were ranked number one and two, respectively, in the nation among public institutions in terms of faculty quality. University faculty are well represented among recipients of the Nobel Prize and Guggenheim Fellowship awards and members of the National Academy of Sciences. It is a priority of this administration to maintain the eminence of the university system."

For the California State University, there is this introductory paragraph:

"The California State University (CSU) system with its 19 campuses is the largest system of its kind in the nation. It services over 320,000 students who are enrolled in over 120,000 different classes and confers approximately 53,000 degrees annually."

In the governor's budget, excellence and eminence are rewarded. The 145,000-student, nine-campus UC system would get $1.8 billion in state general funds in the coming fiscal year, and CSU would get $1.6 billion. Large libraries and small classes — both considered essential to the quality of the advanced graduate programs that UC offers — are costly. UC professors, who are expected to conduct research, need spend only seven hours per week in the classroom (though the instructional-time total rises to an estimated 26 hours when related activities such as preparing for class and grading papers are taken into account). CSU professors, paid only to teach, must spend 12 to 15 hours a week in the class-

Michael Fallon writes about education for The Sacramento Union.

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room, and many probably devote 40 to 50 hours a week to instructional activities alone.

The distinct missions of CSU and UC go back to the state's Master Plan for Higher Education, adopted in 1960 — a year when seven new state colleges had recently opened and when four new general campuses of the university were emerging. The plan established the state colleges as a system, with a focus on undergraduate education and master's degree programs. To prevent costly duplication, UC was assigned responsibility for research and advanced graduate education. UC also was directed to admit the top 12.5 percent of California's high school graduates and the state colleges, the top 33 percent.

The major stumbling block for the educators on the Master Plan survey team was the question of whether the state colleges should award the doctorate. Under an 11th-hour compromise proposed by former UC President Clark Kerr, addressing fears of permanent second-class status among state college advocates, the colleges obtained the right to grant the doctorate, but only in "selected fields," under joint authority with UC.

State Senator Walter W. Stiern, a Democrat from Kern County who was in his first term when the Legislature approved the Master Plan, believes the basic difference between the two systems is the autonomy that UC has always had in the state constitution, rather than the doctorate or research right. Legislative leaders — notably the late Senator George Miller Jr. — made a deliberate choice in 1960 not to extend constitutional autonomy to the state colleges, Stiern recalls. "It was done with the intent they could not escape from the Legislature, as the university had."

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Combat

But Stiern, highly knowledgeable about educational issues, maintains that the colleges gained, "no question about it," in becoming a system in 1960. "Before that, they were scattered individual institutions, in combat with each other, not knowing what the other was doing."

Donald R. Gerth, president of California State University, Sacramento, and a veteran of the politics of what he sees has evolved into a "people's university," views the research bias of some CSU faculty members and professors as part of the status problem. "We are not old enough as a system to have developed a genuine sense of pride in our own accomplishments, which are different from those of a University of California but equally impressive and equally central to the future of our society."

Gerth, however, strongly supports CSU's recent proposal to offer "free-standing doctorates in some applied fields terribly underserved" and says these degrees are "really in the mainstream of the CSU mission."

CSU trustees, selecting one field, voted in November to ask a state commission reviewing the Master Plan to consider allowing CSU to offer an applied doctoral degree in educational administration — a proposal quickly attacked by UC President David P. Gardner who had not been informed in advance, as a "radical departure" from the 25-year-old plan.

CSU doctoral forces marshalled these arguments:

- California's ratio of public-education doctorates per thousand elementary and secondary students is near the bottom nationally. There is a need among California school administrators seeking advancement for practical and probably part-time doctoral programs — a need now being met by graduate schools of independent colleges in California and by out-of-state institutions that have "prospered."
- A survey by the Association of California School Administrators indicates there will be a 53.2 percent turnover in the work force of current administrators by 1994.
- If CSU "expects to be a potent force in the improvement of public schools in California, it must do more than train beginning teachers," according to an analysis by CSU Provost William E. Vandament. "The CSU has a responsibility to participate actively in the preparation of administrators who will be responsible for leading California schools into the 21st century. Without some doctoral opportunities within the system, the CSU's effectiveness in preparing administrators will diminish."
- Some of the low esteem for educational doctorates, says CSU Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds, reflects "times when nobody loved public education." In her three years in office she has "heard over and over again the need for a doctorate in education."

Opponents, some of them within the CSU system itself and often less enthusiastic about the societal need for an educational doctorate, give these replies:

- There is no evidence of an impending shortage of school administrators. PACE (Policy Analysis for California Education), a research organization funded by the Hewlett Foundation, tabulated only 16,000 administrative positions overall in California in 1984 and found no indications of a high turnover rate. "The current output of school administrator training programs could completely restock school administrators

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in California every five years." Given the alternative of remaining a classroom teacher, the PACE report says, "the lifetime earning payoff for becoming an educational administrator in California is high (and) an individual's costs for obtaining administrator training are low."

- While there is agreement about the necessity to strengthen the training of principals and other school administrators, it has not been established that potentially high-cost doctoral programs for practicing administrators are the best approach.
- The much more immediate need, in UC as well as CSU, is to improve teacher education programs. CSU prepares about 60 percent of the state's teachers while UC trains 8 percent.
- Basically, the position of the state colleges a decade ago at the time they became state universities, was that "institutions as large and comprehensive as they were, were commonly being designated as universities throughout the country," says Patrick M. Callan, director of the California Postsecondary Education Commission. "What the Legislature was asked to do was simply recognize what was there. It did not involve research or graduate programs beyond the master's degree, but a change in name only."
- CSU and UC cannot afford a turf battle at a time when impending federal budget cuts and state spending limits could inflict serious financial constraints on education.
- Funds allocated to the CSU educational doctorate could drain money from the system's current programs. Peter Shattuck, a history professor at CSU Sacramento and chairman of the campus Academic Senate, says that about 150 campus employees signed a petition opposing the joint doctorate. "The general tenor of it was that we opposed implementation of an independent doctoral program until we were assured of adequate funding." He understands, however, the arguments of those who say, "We need at this time to persuade the state to open up the Master Plan so that 10 years down the road we might offer doctorates."

First rate or third rate?

The doctoral program proposal emerged in the context of a mission statement for the CSU system, "something very much needed," Shattuck said. "We are not what we were when we were teachers' colleges or a state college system. But I find the introduction of the doctorate to be a substitution of the image for the reality. I don't want to see us become a third-rate comprehensive university. I would like to see us become a first-rate teaching university."

State Senator Gary K. Hart of Santa Barbara believes "the strength of CSU should be undergraduate education. The strength of UC, I think, is its research mission. Instead of trying to mimic UC, CSU campuses should focus on their strength." Hart, chairman of the Senate Education Committee, would like to see CSU "pay more attention to ways to highlight its outstanding campuses and programs. Campuses such as California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo and San Diego State University have established reputations, Hart said. But he only recently became aware that the program for hearing-impaired students at CSU Northridge is "second to none in the nation."

San Jose Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, chairman of the joint legislative committee overseeing the Master Plan review, contends that CSU campuses will acquire prestige "by being good teaching institutions. The doctorate has little to do with that." Vasconcellos said that preoccupation with doctoral degrees is the "old elitist way of looking at what is important. Imparting knowledge is more important."

But the doctorate and research continue to be status symbols in higher education, not merely in California. Norman

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Charles, a member of the postsecondary education commission staff, recalls that a distinction once was made between "scholarship" and "research" but says the terms have come to be used interchangeably. "With the dominance of science, 'research' is appropriate. The question in the social sciences and humanities is whether 'scholarship' would not be the more appropriate term. Research is seen as out there on the frontiers of knowledge . . . We have now come to assume that anybody doing research is somehow superior because it's the published results of research that build the individual reputation of faculty people and the university. In the process, teaching and capable instructors — if they are not also publishing somewhere — are not recognized in the rewards system."

Charles is the chief author of a 1980 study which analyzed the poor success of the joint-doctorate compromise contained in the 1960 Master Plan. The study found several causes: "limited" benefits for UC faculty members involved in the programs and no budgetary support for administering the programs on UC campuses; difficulties for students when the UC and CSU campuses were widely separated; a one-year state budget moratorium on the degrees in 1973-74; and an abrupt drop, beginning in the early 1970s and continuing through the decade, in the job market for new Ph.D.s. Though the job market appears to be changing, the findings of the postsecondary commission study are still relevant. Only about 100 of the joint degrees have been awarded in the last 25 years.

UC's Gardner says the reasons for the limited success of the joint doctoral program are "not clear to me." It is his feeling that this does not reflect any institution-to-institution decision by UC or CSU. The programs will succeed, he said, chiefly where there are faculty-to-faculty agreements, involving UC and CSU professors who work in the same academic discipline.

Gardner declared recently that if a new postsecondary commission report, expected in early summer, identifies unmet needs for educational doctorates, he will join Chancellor Reynolds to "investigate how our two universities, working together, can meet the need by expanding programs under the current joint doctorate-granting authority."

A sign of progress

Roy T. Brophy, chairman of the CSU Board of Trustees, suggests that UC's initial opposition to the applied doctorate proposal may be a sign of the progress that CSU has made. There are other signs, Brophy noted in a talk to a CSU audience in Fresno. CSU has 187 nationally-accredited curricular programs, compared with 16 a quarter-century ago. Starting next fall, students will have to be in the top half of their class to enter a CSU teacher-education program. New admission requirements for entering CSU freshmen — heavy on English, mathematics, science, history, government, foreign language and the arts — carry a "strong symbolic message that quality and standards truly count in the CSU."

Brophy, a Sacramento builder, is aware of the dilemma that CSU faces as it reaches out for more Hispanic and black students in a state where minorities are on their way to becoming the majority. "It's a kind of unholy triad, three things that are diametrically opposed. We're trying to open up access to minorities, reduce our remedial classes and raise our admission requirements — all at the same time." But Brophy supports the new entrance requirements, almost identical to those at UC, because "we do have too many people coming in who are just not prepared for university work. You can't look at access without looking at retention."

Too many students are dropping out of UC and CSU, particularly CSU, before graduation, says Assemblyman Tom Hayden of Santa Monica, chairman of an Assembly subcommittee on higher education. Hayden cites estimates that only 11 percent of the blacks and 13 percent of the Hispanics who entered CSU campuses in 1978 graduated five years later, and that the rate for all students — majority and minority — is not much better on some campuses. "We've concentrated on the open door," he said. "There also appears to be a revolving door."

A CSU study in January found that the percentage of young people in California attending colleges and universities which award the baccalaureate and higher degrees falls below the national average. In terms of the proportion of people between the ages of 25 and 34 who have acquired bachelor's degrees, California again lags behind the national average — behind such states as Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Texas and Florida.

"Strange things have happened on the way to success in the Master Plan for Higher Education," Brophy said. "Twenty-five years have produced results not foreseen when the plan was born. One initial assumption was that similar proportions of Californians — perhaps even higher proportions — would graduate from high school. Another assumption was that California would lead the nation in college- and university-educated citizens. Neither assumption has panned out."

California has more than 130 public colleges and universities and some 370 degree-granting, private postsecondary institutions, Brophy said. "Yet we are by no means America's most educated people . . . Fewer than one-fifth of Californians have completed four or more years of college, compared with nearly one-fourth of Colorado's population. Other measures tell us that California college graduation rates would have to be increased 20 to 30 percent simply to equal the national average."

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ROSTRUM

Lobbying

Your recent series of articles on lobbying in Sacramento contains a profile on lobbyist George Soares which raises the issue of whether or not Mr. Soares' relationship to the Department of Food and Agriculture is improper. The article further questions Mr. Soares' relationship to Deputy Director George Gomes. The Soares profile quotes me in a context which could give the impression that I agree that there was an improper relationship between Mr. Soares, the department and Mr. Gomes. This is not true.

I have known George Gomes both as a fellow civil servant and as a decision maker whom I have approached on behalf of clients. I have always found him to adhere to the highest standards of professionalism and personal integrity. His decisions were based on what he perceived to be in the best interests of the people of California. I concur in Clare Berryhill's observation concerning the odoriferous nature of innuendo to the contrary.

My comment on Mr. Soares' success regarding the wine-marketing order was based upon the fact that his clients won, not upon a belief of improper conduct or relationships. Mr. Soares' expertise in agricultural issues and contacts in the agricultural community allow him to maximize the impact of his clients' views on decision makers. That is what effective lobbyists actually do, ineffective lobbyists try to do and all lobbyists represent to their clients they will do. There is nothing wrong with that.

MICHAEL FRANCHETTI
San Francisco

Underground lobbyists

In response to your February 1986 article entitled, "The Underground — Loophole Allows Unregistered Lobbyists to Thrive," the Friends Committee on Legislation (FCL) is named as an organization that has employed unregistered lobbyists. This is a false claim, unsubstantiated by facts. The article refers to a "gray area" in the law which allows individuals who are performing advocacy activities to avoid registering as lobbyists. We see no such "gray area" in the law. A lobbyist is someone who is paid to communicate directly with a legislative official for the purpose of influencing legislative action. While FCL has always had interns, they are not paid and never make contact with legislative officials to influence legislation.

FCL is the oldest public interest lobby in California. For thirty-four years we have represented the interests of the poor and disenfranchised as part of a Quaker tradition of service for peace and social justice. Our reputation as "the conscience of the Legislature" was earned through years of forthright and principled action. Lacking the financial muscle of the big lobbies and the vote-getting power of political organizations, our only assets are the strength of our arguments, hard work and the reputation we have gained. (The) article is an irresponsible and inaccurate attack on that reputation.

CANDACE BLASE
Chief Lobbyist
CLEVE JONES
Legislative Advocate

Your article on underground lobbyists falsely describes California Rural Legal Assistance as one of several "public interest associations" which employs or uses unregistered lobbyists. This is a serious accusation which is made moreso by the potential harm such irresponsible journalism may have on the low income clients our program represents. California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation employees who meet FPPC's definition of lobbyist have always registered and complied with commission reporting requirements. Student interns periodically work with us; however, none have ever met the minimum requirements necessary to trigger FPPC registration. Because of the vulnerable and often politically unpopular clients we represent, our program staff is particularly scrupulous in adhering to the requirements of the Political Reform Act. As a law firm, your suggestion that CRLA's failure to register is due to ignorance of the law, is particularly disturbing. As representatives of low income people, we are accustomed to false accusations from those who wish to stop us. I trust the *California Journal* is not among that group.

MARION B. STANDISH
Executive Director CRLA

Joanne Creager's article on "underground lobbyists" in your February issue incorrectly states that the American Civil Liberties Union employs the help of unregistered lobbyists. Creager falsely asserts that the ACLU, along with other "public interest organizations," makes use of lobbyists who are not registered with and who do not report to the Fair Political Practices Commission. This accusation is as serious as it is erroneous. I have been employed at the ACLU as a legislative advocate since 1983 and am registered with the FPPC. In the years that I have lobbied on a wide variety of civil liberties issues in the Capitol, I have never witnessed the practice described by Creager. We are not certain how Creager or the *Journal* justify these misleading accusations, but we would suggest that in the future, if the facts do not present themselves, do the responsible things and let a story idea remain an idea.

MARJORIE SWARTZ
Legislative Advocate ACLU

One might think that a well-established periodical such as *California Journal* would publish accusations of unlawful activities only after careful and thorough investigation. Yet this simple rule of journalistic propriety was plainly not followed in the *Journal's* article on unregistered lobbyists. There is no truth to its assertion that Western Center on Law and Poverty has employed or used lobbyists who have neither registered with nor reported to the Fair Political Practices Commission (FPPC). Had the author bothered to contact us before making this allegation, she would have had any misconceptions corrected. Adding insult to injury, Creager explains our alleged "failure to register" by suggesting that we believe FPPC requirements to be "irrelevant" to our work, that we are "ignorant of the law," or that we "lack the sophistication of more professional operations." Western Center's legal acumen is widely known and respected. We have achieved major victories on behalf of the poor on a wide range of subjects — health, welfare, civil rights, housing and consumer law. We are accustomed to false accusations from those who wish to put an end to the aggressive advocacy we provide on behalf of our disadvantaged clients. We expect a higher degree of accuracy, however, from the "non-partisan, non-ideological" *Journal*.

CASEY S. MCKEEVER
Directing Attorney
Western Center on Law and Poverty

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(A review of top stories during the preceding 30 days.)

SAN DIEGO MAYORAL RUNOFF

(February 26th) The San Diego mayor's office remains unfilled as former City Councilwoman Maureen O'Connor and Councilman Bill Cleater were forced into a run off when O'Connor fell short of capturing the 51 percent of the votes needed to put her in office. O'Connor received 80,861 votes, or 46 percent, and Cleator collected 52,940 votes, or 30 percent in the special election to choose a successor to Roger Hedgecock, who resigned December 10th following his conviction on conspiracy and perjury charges. The run off will be held June 3rd.

LEGISLATIVE ANALYST RESIGNS

(February 28th) Legislative Analyst William Hamm resigned from his $83,380-a-year state post to accept a position at World Savings and Loan Association in Oakland. Before announcing his resignation, Hamm, who was hired as analyst in 1977, released his annual analysis of Deukmejian's budget proposal, a 4753-page document that probes every fiscal change the government makes.

HONORARIA, GIFTS TOP SALARIES

(March 5th) Many California officials and lawmakers cashed in their words of wisdom for thousands of dollars in speaking fees last year, but Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and state Treasurer Jesse Unruh won the distinction of earning more in honoraria and trips than they did from their public paychecks. According to annual economic-interest statements filed with the state Fair Political Practices Commission, Brown received $51,677 in honoraria and travel expenses during 1985, far more than his $33,752 annual legislative salary. Unruh more than doubled his $42,500 salary by collecting $45,457 in speaking fees and travel expenses. Other top earners included state Senator William Campbell, who reported receiving $38,400 in speaking fees; Senate Republican leader Jim Nielsen, who was paid $27,575 for speeches; and Senate President pro Tem David Roberti, who reported $25,350 in honoraria.

LOBBYING HITS RECORD $74.3 MILLION

(March 7th) California businesses, labor unions, local governments and other groups spent $74.3 million to lobby lawmakers and influence state agencies last year, nearly four times more than was spent a decade ago. According to the state Fair Political Practices Commission, the most active lobbying groups included utilities; finance and insurance companies; industrial and manufacturing businesses; oil and gas enterprises; and doctors, dentists and other health providers. Pacific Gas and Electric continued to lead the lobbying list, spending $11.8 million. Carpenter, Zenovich and Associates topped the list of recipients, receiving $957,166 in lobbying payments last year, more than any other Sacramento lobbying firm. They were followed by Advocation ($951,228); A-K Associates ($914,265); and Clayton R. Jackson ($866,129).

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ROLL CALL

ASSEMBLY

WATER CONSERVATION – BOND ACT

AB 1982 (Costa) Places on the June primary ballot a $150 million bond issue to finance loans to local agencies for water conservation, ground water recharge and drainage projects. Passed February 6th, 54-18. Signed by the governor.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Areias, Bane, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Clute, Condit, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hauser, Hughes, Johnston, Killea, McAlister, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Roos, Tanner, Tucker, Vicencia, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters

REPUBLICANS FOR: Bader, Baker, Bradley, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Kelley, LaFollette, Lancaster, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Nolan, Rogers, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Bates, Campbell, Chacon, Connelly, Duffy, Hannigan, Harris, Hayden, Isenberg, Klehs, Margolin, Robinson, Sher

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Dennis Brown, Ferguson, Konnyu, Lewis

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Agnos, Katz, Vasconcellos

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Jones, Leonard, Naylor, Seastrand

CORRECTION FACILITIES — BOND ACT

SB 146 (Presley) Places $495 million in jail construction bonds on the June ballot. The funds will be used to finance construction and maintenance of county jails and juvenile facilities, with a maximum of $20 million to be spent on the latter. Passed March 3rd, 68-2. Signed by the governor.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Norman Waters

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bradley, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, LaFollette, Lancaster, Leonard, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Wright, Wyman

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Dennis Brown, Stirling

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Chacon, Floyd, Peace, Vasconcellos, Vicencia , Maxine Waters

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Ferguson, Lewis, McClintock

COMMUNITY COLLEGES

AB 2672 (Statham) Lends $1.2 million to the Lassen Community College District in Susanville and $3.2 million to the Peralta Community College District in Oakland. The districts must repay the loans from their state money over the next three years and give the state community colleges chancellor a plan for achieving fiscal stability. Critics say the community college trustees have not taken responsibility for their mistakes. Passed March 6th, 55-14.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Duffy, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bader, Baker, Filante, Frazee, Grisham, Hill, Johnson, Kelley, Lancaster, Leonard, Mojonnier, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Areias, Elder

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Dennis Brown, Felando, Ferguson, Frizzelle, Herger, Jones, Konnyu, Lewis, McClintock, Mountjoy, Wright, Wyman

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Agnos, Chacon, Eaves, Molina, Peace, Robinson, Vasconcellos, Vicencia

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Bradley, LaFollette

NEWSPAPER EMPLOYEE TESTIMONY

AB 2632 (O'Connell) Exempts newspaper employees from testifying in trials that articles are indeed from their newspapers. Frequently, newspaper employees must testify in court to authenticate articles and, according to an Assembly analysis, are then questioned concerning other matters, including identity of sources. Passed March 6th, 63-0

DEMOCRATS FOR: Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Campbell, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Baker, Dennis Brown, Felando, Ferguson, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Grisham, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: None

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Agnos, Calderon, Chacon, Duffy, Eaves, Herger, Killea, Molina, Peace, Robinson, Vasconcellos, Vicencia

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Bader, Bradley, LaFollette, McClintock

SCHOOL TRANSPORTATION

AB 1293 (Seastrand) Allows county offices of education with average daily attendance less than 2502 to qualify for grants to purchase new school buses. Also appropriates $300,000 from the Driver Training Penalty Assessment Fund to the California Highway Patrol for an engineering study to develop the most cost-effective way to ensure buses meet federal safety standards. Passed February 20th, 71-1. Signed by the governor.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, Norman Waters

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bradley, Felando, Ferguson, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, LaFollette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Stirling, Wright, Wyman

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Floyd

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: None

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Chacon, Duffy, Hayden, Hughes, Maxine Waters

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Dennis Brown, Statham

SENATE

SCHOOL TRANSPORTATION

AB 1293 (Seastrand) Allows county offices of education with average daily attendance of less than 2502 to qualify for grants to purchase new school buses. Passed February 14th, 33-0. Signed by the governor.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Deddeh, Dills, Foran, Garamendi, Leroy Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, Marks, McCorquodale, Mello, Montoya, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Stiern, Torres, Vuich, Watson

REPUBLICANS FOR: Bergeson, Beverly, Campbell, Davis, Doolittle, Ellis, Morgan, Nielsen, Royce, Russell, Seymour

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: None

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Alquist, Bill Greene, Robbins, Rosenthal

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Craven, Maddy, Richardson

SOURCE: LEGITECH

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Campaign 86

Duke, Bradley declare

Republican Governor George Deukmejian and his Democractic challenger, Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, launched Tom-and-Duke II — a reprise of their 1982 race for governor. From the outset, the two campaigns took on markedly different tones. While Republicans seemed upbeat and confident, Bradley's kick-off blitz through several California cities produced small crowds and was plagued by his refusal to take a stand on the reconfirmation of Supreme Court Chief Justice Rose Bird. Bradley said he would make a decision on Bird "within 60 days." At the same time, the Democratic candidate seemed to increase the distance between himself and Bird, denying at one point that he supported her 1978 confirmation election (although he served as co-chairman of a committee supporting her) and declaring that he would never appoint a judge who didn't accept the death penalty.

Richardson vs. Curb

The teeth-gnashing heard around the Capitol after the March 7th filing deadline probably came from the governor's office when it became clear that George Deukmejian's running mate in November would be a) a state senator known as a strident right-wing ideologue, or b) a former antagonist he came to despise in 1982. The sigh of relief came from the office of Democratic incumbent Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy.

Although several Republicans had expressed interest in the lieutenant governor's race, only state Senator H.L. Richardson of Arcadia and former Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb filed. Richardson's only other foray into a statewide race came in 1974 when he was pasted by Senator Alan Cranston. Also, Richardson's support comes from the extreme conservative wing of a Republican Party that seems to be broadening its base in hopes of becoming the majority in California. Curb, of course, ran against Deukmejian in a fractious GOP gubernatorial primary in 1982. The candidate that seemed most suited to Deukmejian — Orange County Supervisor Bruce Nestande — withdrew at the last moment to run for secretary of state. The guv very much wants a Republican in the number two slot in case the GOP hoists his flag for national office in 1988. Word is he won't accept if it means turning the state over to a Democrat.

A Bird without a perch

Democrats seem to be coming to some kind of consensus on what to do about Rose Bird — panic. Almost every Democrat with something to lose in November is busy putting distance between him or herself and the chief justice. Tom Bradley has raised waffling to an art form. U.S. Senator Alan Cranston says that her confirmation campaign is none of his business. Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy boldly says he supports Bird, sort of. "If the (Bird) election . . . were limited to the death penalty, I would vote against Rose Bird," McCarthy told the *Sacramento Bee*. The Democratic Party state convention platform committee twice rejected proposals to endorse Bird, instead opting for a mild statement of support for "an independent judiciary." And the man who appointed Bird to the Court, former Governor Jerry Brown, told a Los Angeles newspaper that he would not take part in her bid to win reconfirmation. A few days later Brown wrote a vague treatise for several state papers on the value of an independent judiciary. Tacked to the end of his article was an equally vague assessment of Bird that fell far short of an endorsement.

Not everyone shunned poor Rose, however. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a forceful supporter, chastised the Democratic Party for its failure to endorse the chief justice and said that it's an insult to voters for politicians to sidestep the issue.

The Cory bombshell

State Controller Ken Cory upset both Democratic and Republican apple carts when he decided, at the last minute, not to seek a fourth term in office. Cory's tenure has been plagued by questions about his campaign finances and, more recently, about his part in setting up a questionable oil-lease investment for the State Teachers Retirement System, where the controller serves as a board member. Republicans who surveyed the race thought Cory would be vulnerable to a well-financed attack, but many were doubtful they could raise the needed cash. However, former Fair Political Practices Commission Chairman Dan Stanford jumped in on the Republican side and promptly attacked Cory. He soon was joined by Sonoma Republican Assemblyman Don Sebastiani. To hear Stanford tell it, his attacks were too successful and Cory — 48 hours before the filing deadline — decided not to run.

His announcement set off a last-minute scramble among Dems since Cory's departure eased what one of them, Assemblyman Gray Davis of Beverly Hills, called "political constipation." In addition to Davis, Assemblyman Alister McAlister of San Jose, and senators Dan Boatwright of Concord, Rose Ann Vuich of Dinuba, Art Torres of South Pasadena and John Garamendi of Walnut Grove all were looking. Even San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein was said to be interested. In the end only Davis — who must be considered the front-runner because of his $1 million campaign account — McAlister and Garamendi stayed in. On the Republican side, Senator Bill Campbell of Hacienda Heights and former Senator Marz Garcia of Menlo Park joined Sebastiani and Stanford.

One happy family

When California's Republicans were clearly in the minority, it was easy for them to live up to Ronald Reagan's 11th Commandment, which enjoins Republican candidates from speaking ill of each other. But with a potential victory over U. S. Senator Alan Cranston in sight, that admonition went out the window as the 10 candidates for the nomination were busy lobbing charges at each other in what has so far been a vain attempt to distinguish themselves from the pack. The first major breech was state Senator Ed Davis' allegation to prosecutors that Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler had offered to retire $100,000 in Davis' campaign debts, if only Davis would get out of the race. The legal aspects of that episode ended in late February when Los Angeles County Superior Court Judge Robert Altman dismissed charges against Fiedler and her campaign manager-fiancee Paul Clarke, saying there was not enough evidence against either.

But ill will from the episode lingers on. Fiedler told reporters that she would not endorse Davis should he win the nomination, and Davis warned that if Fielder didn't "hold her tongue, somebody's going to take her broom away." Then two other candidates, Los Angeles County Supervisor Mike Antonovich and Los Angeles television commentator Bruce Herschensohn, waded in with complaints that Fiedler was unfairly using radio and television ads featuring comments taped by President Reagan for Fiedler's 1984 reelection to the House. Silicon Valley Congressman Ed Zschau tried to get everyone to sign a pledge saying they wouldn't disagree too much with one another, but that didn't go very far, particularly with Assemblyman Robert Naylor who needs to cut in on Zschau's appeal with the high-tech constituency they share. Zschau probably said it best when he opined that "undecided" was still the frontrunner at this point in the campaign.

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Perspective from

WASHINGTON

By Leo Rennert

Washington's changing role in education

For more than 20 years before Ronald Reagan became president, the key issue in the debate over the federal role in education was money: How much and for what? In the 1950s, after Sputnik, Washington rushed in with millions of dollars to strengthen science courses. In the 1960s Lyndon Johnson pushed through a multi-billion-dollar program of special help to economically disadvantaged students. In the 1970s there was a big leap forward in federal grants and loans to college students. Along the way, Washington also increased aid for handicapped pupils and vocational programs. Dollars went up, even though state educators groused about red tape and regulations. If there was a political consensus, it was that the feds should do even more. Former California School Chief Wilson Riles and others in the educational establishment pushed for a co-equal federal role in school finance — one third federal, one third state and one third local.

AFTER FIVE YEARS OF THE REAGAN presidency, all this has become a dim memory. From the start, Reagan targeted education for sharp budget cuts and renounced the notion that Washington had special responsibility to funnel money to state and local school authorities. In fact, he stood the entire concept on its head. He argued that achievement scores fell while federal aid rose, suggesting that less federal money would be more productive. At first, he tried to mollify fearful educators by promising that the feds would merely repackage existing programs into a few bloc grants that would give local and state officials more discretion in the use of federal money. But that bow to federalism quickly faded as the White House revealed its true program-slashing intentions, particularly in Reagan's budget for 1987.

Under the president's spending blueprint, California would lose more than $2 billion in federal support for domestic programs and a big chunk would come out of the hide of education. The state stands to lose $70 million in college student aid, $38 million for vocational and adult education, $16 million for compensatory programs for deprived youngsters, $11 million for libraries and $10 million for handicapped programs — just to mention some of the more significant cuts. Across the country, according to the National Education Association, the Reagan budget would exclude 250,000 poor children from compensatory programs, 1.3 million college students from financial aid and 12 million children from subsidized school lunches.

Congress is not apt to go all the way with Reagan in wielding such a heavy budget axe. But the fight over school aid, as with many other domestic programs, has become a rearguard action. Spending growth has been halted and, in many instances, reversed. The question no longer is how much, but how little. Reagan not only has changed completely the terms of the debate; he has suffered no visible political backlash from his education-slashing moves. By softening the blows, Congress has kept him from harm's way. The president also seized the high ground by going on the offensive as a reformer promoting academic excellence. While cutting federal aid, he has preached the need for more student discipline, higher standards, merit pay for teachers and more emphasis on basic subjects. He is seen not as a Scrooge but as a crusader. In his first term Reagan appointed a task force which concluded in a widely publicized 1983 report, "A Nation at Risk," that educational mediocrity had become a national menace and called for major instructional reforms. The commission chairman, David Gardner, then president of the University of Utah and now head of the University of California, and other members hoped the administration also could be coaxed into recognizing that the federal government had a financial responsibility to promote higher-quality performance in the nation's schools. But while Reagan took up the popular reform ideas, he let the states figure out how to pay for them.

A more recent education manifesto from the administration, entitled "What Works," advises teachers, parents and students that reading ability can be improved by "reading a lot," that parental involvement is important and homework pays off. No mention of who's supposed to pay the bill. Money has been replaced by sermonettes. Pre-Reagan conservatives used to worry about Washington dictating course content. But this administration has not hesitated to try and bend education to the New Right's social agenda and waded in with its own prescriptions for bilingual programs, phonetics in the teaching of reading, and prayers in the classroom. Intrusiveness, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder.

On most subjects, Reagan is not without his critics. But in the field of education, their ranks and political muscle have shrunk. Democratic Congressman Vic Fazio of West Sacramento, whose district includes the University of California campus at Davis, contends the president doesn't understand that his higher-education cuts undermine America's ability to compete in a high-tech world. Fazio, who serves on the Budget and Appropriations committees, warns that both poor and middle-class students are being frozen out. Paul Sweet, UC's Washington lobbyist, notes sharp cuts in college grants have forced financially-squeezed students to scramble for loans. He credits the administration with generous support of scientific research. But he points out there's less money for graduate programs to produce a new pool of talent for industry, laboratories and classrooms. California high-tech firms are becoming troubled, according to Fazio, by the need to hire away science teachers from universities because there are not enough science graduates. "We're eating our seedcorn," he remarks.

SO FAR, SUCH CONCERNS AND CRITICISMS merely bounce off Reagan's teflon shield. Congressional Democrats, who fought against education cuts in the Nixon administration and won many battles, have grown tired. The party is less wedded to the precepts of the Great Society. Younger members question the value of federal programs. Reagan also has been helped by a sense of resignation at state and local levels about the outlook for federal aid.

The battle, however, is not over. Fazio sees the beginning signs of a new California school-finance crisis as Sacramento bumps up against the budget ceiling of Paul Gann's anti-spending initiative and Washington moves toward a new round of cuts under the 1985 Gramm-Rudman balanced-budget law. That kind of double-barreled squeeze could set off new political pressures for federal relief. "Higher education," Fazio predicts, "will be the main battleground because the Reagan cuts hit the middle class so hard."

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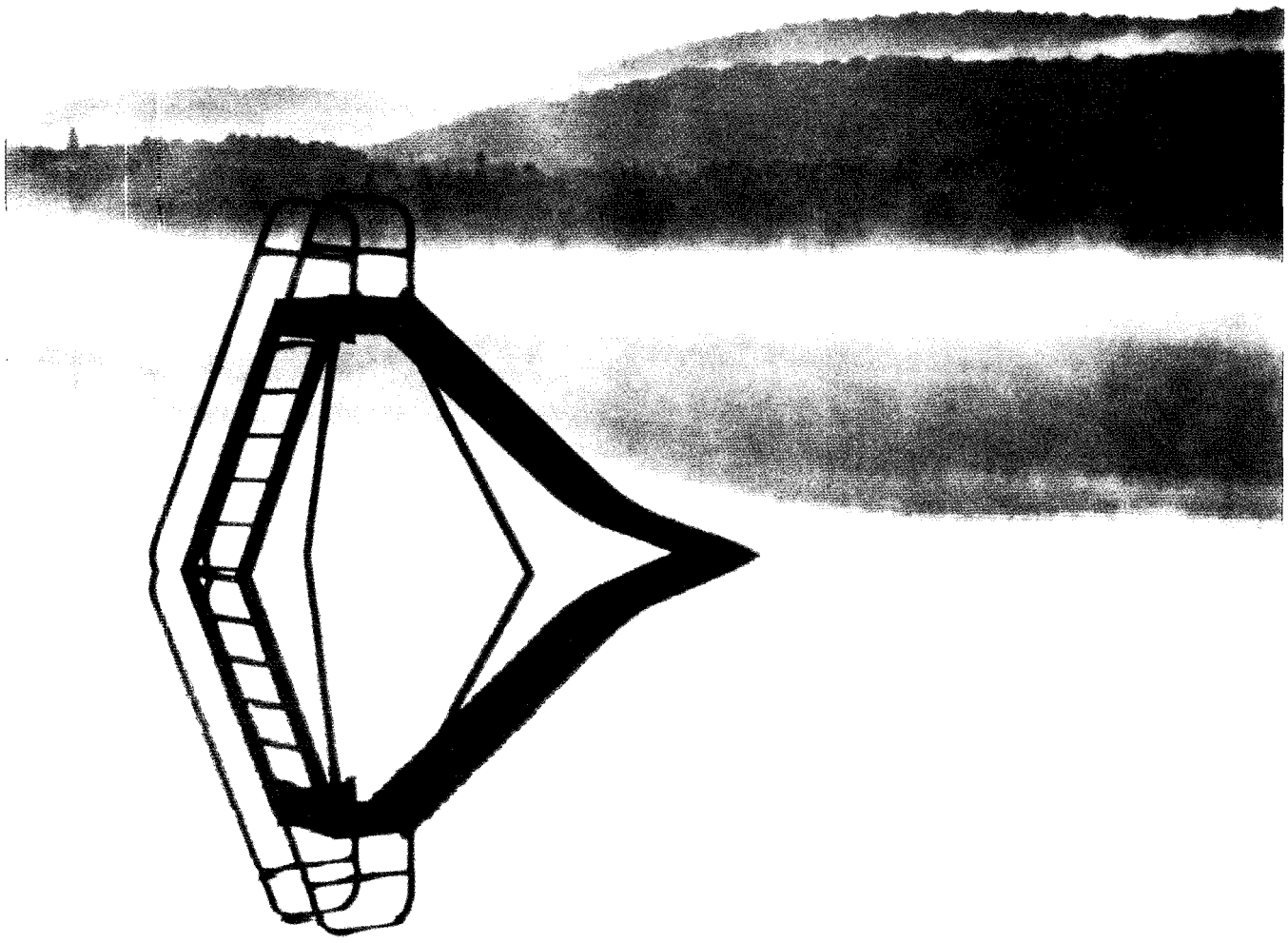

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